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### A Critical Study of the Evidence Pertaining to Certain Disputed Sites in Palestine

Erich Kiehl

Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, [ir\\_kiehle@csl.edu](mailto:ir_kiehle@csl.edu)

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A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE EVIDENCE PERTAINING  
TO CERTAIN DISPUTED SITES IN PALESTINE

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A Thesis Presented to the Faculty  
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,  
Department of New Testament  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Sacred Theology

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by  
Erich H. <sup>ENH</sup>Kiehl, 1920-

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Approved by: William F. Arndt  
Advisor

Victor Bartling  
(Reader)

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## FOREWORD

Various observations should be noted to understand more fully the material which follows.

The reader will notice that the spelling of Arabic place-names may be different from that with which he is familiar. The spelling used in this paper is that found on the latest maps. But even among these, there is a deviation in spelling. The lack of a standardized transliteration of Arabic names is a fact of which one becomes keenly aware in a study of Biblical backgrounds.

As the footnotes bear out, the very latest maps were used in this study. These are the official maps of the Survey of Palestine of the late Palestine Mandate Government. Unfortunately, some of these seem to be no longer obtainable, since recent attempts to secure additional maps have been futile.

The sketches found in various appendices are based on these recent maps. Referring to these appendices will help the reader to follow and to see for himself. This is especially important where the discussion gets to be of a technical geographical nature.

Also found in the appendices are comparative listings of views taken by scholars on a number of disputed sites. These serve to shed additional light on the presentation of conflicting views and also clarify the conclusions reached.

The reader will note references to personal observations in Palestine, which it was our privilege to make in 1947. In almost every case,

these have their influence on the evaluations. Since these observations were made under the guidance of Dr. William Arndt, it is felt that they may be considered of a primary nature in the ranking of resource material.

Occasionally it becomes necessary to differ with scholars recognized as authorities in their field. Sometimes this is necessitated by their desire to ignore the inspired word of Scripture. In other cases, it would seem that personal wishes overpower scholarly acumen. A study such as this demands a dispassionate approach. This is especially true because of the many traditions which have arisen and which have become highly important for the preservation of traditional sites of Biblical significance.

Since it is necessary to have some understanding of the development of Biblical Archaeology, the reader will find it helpful to study and absorb the survey found in the "Introduction." This will serve to enrich a perusal or study of the subsequent chapters on various sites of importance in Biblical Archaeology.

## INTRODUCTION

### BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

"Archaeology" is a term which goes back to the ancient Greeks. In their day they discussed the antiquities of the past and termed such discussion *ἀρχαιολογία*.<sup>1</sup>

Biblical Archaeology is fundamental in all its phases for a study of Palestine, for it was chiefly in this country that the events described in the Bible occurred. Through its investigations, it brings to life the domestic, social, political, and religious life of the past ages.<sup>2</sup>

The cultivation of Biblical Archaeology may be divided into four periods. The first begins with the recognition of Christianity as a legally recognized religion by Constantine the Great and continued through the eighteenth century.

Constantine and his mother Helena took the greatest interest in identifying the holy places of Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> Eusebius speaks at great length of their ardor and zeal. An example is the "finding" of the

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<sup>1</sup>M.G. Kyle, "Archaeology and Criticism," The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia, edited by James Orr (Chicago: The Howard-Severance Co., 1915), p. 226.

<sup>2</sup>"Biblical Archaeology," The Concordia Cyclopaedia, edited by L. Fuerbringer, et al. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1927), p. 82.

<sup>3</sup>George A. Barton, Archaeology and the Bible (Seventh revised edition; Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union, 1946), p. 95.

tomb of Jesus by Queen Helena.<sup>4</sup> Now streams of pilgrims began to visit the Holy Land. Among them was the pilgrim from Bordeaux, who visited in Palestine in 333 A.D. He traveled through various sections of Palestine in the attempt to see the main sites hallowed by the presence of Christ and other personalities of the Bible. He left a record of his experiences and impressions labelled Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup>

The Bordeaux pilgrim was followed by a host of other pilgrims. All had the same interest. Since they desired to see sites not as yet identified or doubtful, traditions and legends were invented and devised to accommodate this hunger. The many and numerous itineraries which these travelers and pilgrims have written reflect their devotional attitude but reveal, likewise, their credulous acceptance of current traditions, legends, and accommodations. As a result these itineraries are of a secondary value.<sup>6</sup>

Gustaf Dalman, under whose direction the German Evangelical Institute for the Archaeology of the Holy Land, was founded in 1902, made a critical and exhaustive study of such itineraries, traditions, and legends.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Gustaf Dalman, Sacred Sites and Ways, translated by Paul P. Levertoff (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936), pp. 344 ff.

<sup>5</sup>Barton, op. cit.

<sup>6</sup>Sir Frederick Kenyon, The Bible and Archaeology (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940), p. 173.

<sup>7</sup>George Ernest Wright and Floyd Vivian Filson, The Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1945), p. 14.

Modern archaeology owes its beginning to Napoleon's interest in the antiquities of Egypt. He imported about a hundred scholars and artists into Egypt to accompany him on his campaign. Their systematic descriptions, copies of inscriptions, and illustrations are valuable additions to archaeological lore.<sup>8</sup>

The second period of Biblical Archaeology takes in the nineteenth century up to 1890; it continued the topographical interest and saw the beginning of excavation.

The honor of beginning scientific exploration in Palestine belongs to the American Dr. Edward Robinson. His epoch-making journeys in 1838 and 1852 and his subsequent publications began the scientific approach.<sup>9</sup> Robinson was well-equipped to make this important contribution to Biblical Archaeology. He was well-versed in Scriptures and history, and had a keen, critical, and analytical mind, which helped him to penetrate the maze of traditions and legends so firmly spun throughout the centuries.<sup>10</sup>

In the meantime Lieutenant W. F. Lynch made a scientific survey of the Dead Sea and determined that it is almost 1300 feet below sea level.<sup>11</sup> Several Palestine Exploration Societies were formed in

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<sup>8</sup>Jack Finnegan, Light from the Ancient Past (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), p. 4.

<sup>9</sup>Wright and Filson, op. cit.

<sup>10</sup>Barton, op. cit., pp. 95-6.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 96.

America, one of which employed the Rev. Selah Merrill as explorer. His writings, especially his East of the Jordan, contain much archaeological information.<sup>12</sup>

Of significance was the formation of the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1865. From 1865 to 1877, this Fund carried out the Great Survey of Western Palestine.<sup>13</sup> Captains Conder and Kitchener were the chief participants. The result was a vast amount of data and a complete and authoritative map on a scale of one inch to a mile.<sup>14</sup> This map covers the area from the Mediterranean to the Jordan River, and from the Egyptian desert to the area near Tyre.

The journeys of Dr. Robinson and the Survey of Western Palestine by the Palestine Exploration Fund were the first great accomplishments in Palestine; they formed the basis for all later topographical work.<sup>15</sup> Various excavations and explorations were carried on by Sir Charles Warren, Selah Merrill, Gottlieb Schumacher, Clermont-Ganneau, Herman Guthe, and others. Later sections of this paper will speak of the influence of these men on the various identifications. Especially valuable for our study will be the observations of Robinson and Conder

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp. 96-7.

<sup>13</sup> Wright and Filson, op. cit.

<sup>14</sup> Barton, op. cit., p. 98.

<sup>15</sup> Wright and Filson, op. cit., p. 103.

of the Survey.<sup>16</sup>

The third period of Biblical Archaeology extended from 1890 to 1914. It saw the beginning of the development of the two basic principles of modern scientific archaeology - "stratigraphy" and "typology." The former is the study of the physical relationship of man-made objects in the light of the strata in which they are found; the latter studies the relationship between these objects. Typology is of great importance in determining chronology. Through the classification of objects wherever they may be found into classes and species, it is possible to identify objects and the age in which they were used. Pottery plays the most important role in this study of objects.<sup>17</sup>

Sir Flinders Petrie began the development of these two basic principles of stratigraphy and typology in his excavation at Tell el-Hesi (Eglon). The work which Petrie began in 1890 was continued by Frederick J. Bliss in 1892. Petrie's system was continued by later excavators. Through his extensive work in Egypt, Petrie also made great contributions to Egyptology.<sup>18</sup>

A host of excavations took place during this period. Great contributions were made to the knowledge of Biblical Archaeology. Significant events were the publication of Excavations in Palestine by Bliss and Macalister in 1902, the beginning of well-staffed excavations at

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<sup>16</sup> Barton, op. cit., pp. 98 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Wright and Filson, op. cit., pp. 10-1

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pp. 102, 04.

Jericho and Samaria (1907-1908), and the publication of Macalister's Gezer (1912), in which he reported on his important findings at Tell el-Jazar (Gezer).<sup>19</sup> In 1894 George Adam Smith made an important contribution to Palestine lore by his monumental Historical Geography of the Holy Land, which has since passed through a series of editions and revisions and is still a standard work.<sup>20</sup>

Among the men who were active in this period, aside from those previously mentioned, are G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fisher, Duncan Mackenzie, G. Leonard Woolley, T. E. Lawrence, Ernst Sellin, Nathaniel Schmidt, Carl Watzinger, and W. J. Moulton.<sup>21</sup>

The fourth period of Biblical Archaeology began in 1920 and continues down to the present. It saw the development in fine detail of the two principles of stratigraphy and typology, with a chronological system almost universally accepted by scholars.<sup>22</sup>

Significant was the organization of the Palestine Department of Antiquities under the British Mandate, and its control of all archaeological activity. Aside from various educational institutions which have promoted and fostered archaeological activity in Palestine, the

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<sup>19</sup>William F. Albright, "The Present State of Syro-Palestinian Archaeology," The Haverford Symposium on Archaeology and the Bible, edited by William F. Albright, et al. (New Haven: The American Schools of Oriental Research, 1938), p. 3.

<sup>20</sup>Wright and Filson, op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>21</sup>Barton, op. cit., pp. 99 ff.

<sup>22</sup>Wright and Filson, op. cit., p. 14, 104.

American and British Schools of Oriental Research have contributed much to the development and perfection of archaeological methods and findings.

Important excavations were carried on at Megiddo (Oriental Institute of Chicago), Beth-Shan (University Museum of Philadelphia), Tell Beit Mirsim (American Schools of Oriental Research), Jericho (John Garstang), Samaria (resumed by J. W. Crowfoot), Lachish (Wellcome-Marston Archaeological Research Expedition), Mounts Ophel and Zion (Macalister, Duncan, Crowfoot), and Jerash (American and British Schools of Oriental Research, Yale University). An increasing number of minor excavations have taken place. Nelson Glueck completed an extensive survey of Biblical sites in Eastern Palestine.<sup>23</sup> Later on reference will be made in great detail to some of these findings.

In the following chapters, we will draw on the observations and findings of these four periods to help to determine the validity or doubtfulness of the various identifications of the sites in question: Bethsaida, Mount of Beattitudes, Cana, Bethany beyond the Jordan, Emmaus, and the Calvary-Tomb area. Special reference will be made to the traditions, on which archaeologists later drew for information. We shall see that, however important traditions may be, it is dangerous to over-emphasize their importance. The occasion will present itself to cite a number of instances of this fact.

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., pp. 104-6.

## CHAPTER I

### BETHSAIDA

In the Gospel narratives, the Bible makes frequent mention of Bethsaida. Matthew records the lamentation of Jesus:

Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works, which were done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes.<sup>1</sup>

Luke records the same woe.<sup>2</sup>

Mark reports:

And straitway he constrained his disciples to get into the ship, and to go to the other side before unto Bethsaida, while he sent away the people.<sup>3</sup>

Later he says: "And he cometh to Bethsaida; and they bring a blind man unto him, and besought him to touch him."<sup>4</sup>

Luke speaks of the activity of Jesus at Bethsaida in feeding the five thousand: "And he took them, and went aside privately into a desert place belonging to the city called Bethsaida."<sup>5</sup>

John associates several of the disciples with Bethsaida: "Now

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<sup>1</sup>Matthew 11:21.

<sup>2</sup>Luke 10:13.

<sup>3</sup>Mark 6:45.

<sup>4</sup>Mark 8:22.

<sup>5</sup>Luke 9:10b.

Philip was of Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Peter."<sup>6</sup> And later on

And there were certain Greeks among them that came up to worship at the feast: the same came therefore to Philip, which was of Bethsaida of Galilee....<sup>7</sup>

These references have aroused much discussion among those who are interested in Biblical archaeology and topography. On the surface, these references may seem to refer only to one and the same Bethsaida. However, careful investigation of the text and context requirements necessitate the acceptance of two locations by the same name, one on the east and another on the west shore of the Sea of Galilee.

This view of two Bethsaidas does not find universal acceptance. An imposing number of archaeologists, scholars, and travelers feel that it is possible to harmonize seeming requirements for two locations, however only with difficulty.<sup>8</sup> Succeeding paragraphs will discuss these attempts to circumvent or to "explain away" the demands of the texts and the context.

#### The Text

The passages which present difficulties are those of John and Mark. John tells us that Philip, Peter, and Andrew were natives of Bethsaida.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>John 1:44.

<sup>7</sup>John 12:20-1.

<sup>8</sup>See Appendix I.

<sup>9</sup>John 1:44; 12:21.

Matthew and Luke inform us that Peter lived at Capernaum.<sup>10</sup> These passages have given the rather universal impression that Capernaum and Bethsaida were close together. In fact, some suggest that the one was the fishing village of the other. Tristram finds that the remark of John 6:17 confirms this when John reports: "And they entered into a ship, and were going over the sea toward Capernaum." He feels that the words of Mark "...to the other side before unto Bethsaida..."<sup>11</sup> and those of John "...over the sea toward Capernaum..." suggest close proximity.<sup>12</sup> Edersheim, for example, suggests that, in view of the above, ...we would infer that Bethsaida was the fishing quarter of, and was rather close to Capernaum, even as we so often find in our own country a "Fisherton" adjacent to larger towns.<sup>13</sup>

A detailed map of the Bethsaida area is found in Appendix II.

#### The Storm Episode

The critical passages in the "storm episode" are:

And straitway he constrained his disciples to get into the ship, and to go to the other side before unto Bethsaida....<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Matthew 8:14; Luke 4:38.

<sup>11</sup>Mark 6:45.

<sup>12</sup>H. B. Tristram, The Land of Israel (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1866), p. 444.

<sup>13</sup>Alfred Edersheim, The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1935), II, 3-4.

<sup>14</sup>Mark 6:45.

...and they entered into a ship, and went over the sea toward Capernaum.<sup>15</sup>

And when they had passed over, they came into the land of Gennesaret, and drew to the shore.<sup>16</sup>

The phrase *εἰς τὸ πέραν πρὸς Βηθσαϊδᾶν* makes it extremely difficult to harmonize all textual requirements in one location.<sup>17</sup>

In discussing the problem of Bethsaida, McCown urges that the Feeding of the Five Thousand took place on the western side, near where the Mosaic of the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes has been found. Jesus would then have sent His disciples by boat to Bethsaida-Julias, but these were driven by the wind into the opposite direction, landing in the Land of Gennesaret instead.<sup>18</sup> Despite the tradition which would agree with McCown, a careful study of the text, aside from an unprejudiced geographical study of the eastern shore, would hardly permit such an identification.

McCown is almost unique in holding this view. Although others hold to the single Bethsaida-Julias location, all look for the site of the Feeding of the Five Thousand on the eastern shore, usually at the

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<sup>15</sup>John 6:17.

<sup>16</sup>Mark 6:53.

<sup>17</sup>Eberhard Nestle, Novum Testamentum Graece Cum Apparatu Critico, revised by E. Erwin Nestle (Seventeenth edition; Stuttgart: Privilegierte Wuerttembergische Bibelanstalt, 1945), p. 102.

<sup>18</sup>Chester McCown, "The Problem of the Site of Bethsaida," The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, X, 1, 46-50.

southern end of the el-Buteiha Plain.<sup>19</sup>

Higher critics would hold that Mark 8:1-26 is a briefer variant of Mark 6:34 - 7:37. In this case McCown suggests as a mistaken anticipation of the journey mentioned in Mark 8:13, 22.<sup>20</sup>

Dalman suggests:

Perhaps the one who inserted "Bethsaida" here thought that the "other side" referred to the eastern shore, and mentioned the eastern Bethsaida in order that the reader should conceive of this as the destination that was originally intended. This was reasonable, inasmuch as that Jesus originally intended to return home by land. Then it might have been supposed that the disciples awaited Him at Bethsaida in order that He might continue the journey with them. The storm which took place that night changed this plan. Jesus came to the disciples "in the midst of the sea" (Mk. vi. 47) and continued the crossing with them towards Gennesar on the western shore.<sup>21</sup>

Dalman suggests another explanation, namely, that the tradition placing the Feeding of the Five Thousand at the Seven Springs, near et Tabgha, might well account for the insertion of "Bethsaida."<sup>22</sup>

Such thinking is a convenient means of circumventing text and context requirements. It is in keeping with the underlying principle of the critical school that the Scriptures are not inspired but are replete with textual and similar inaccuracies which the critical scholar must correct.

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<sup>19</sup>Gustaf Dalman, Sacred Sites and Ways, translated by Paul P. Levertoff (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936), pp. 161 ff. and A. T. Robertson, A Harmony of the Gospels for Students of the Life of Christ (New York: Harper & Brothers, c.1922), pp. 85 ff.

<sup>20</sup>McCown, op. cit., p. 50.

<sup>21</sup>Dalman, op. cit., p. 175.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 176.

*εἰς τὸ πέραν πρὸς Βηθσαιδᾶν*

Other scholars recognize that Bethsaida is validly in the Markan text but feel that a suitable explanation must be made to conform to the single-Bethsaida identification. Dalman recognizes this need and suggests that the expression *πρὸς Βηθσαιδᾶν* is used in such a way as to suggest the general neighborhood of Bethsaida, not Bethsaida (Julias) itself. The meaning then becomes "toward" not "to." <sup>23</sup>

George Adam Smith maintains that the phrase in question does not necessarily demand "across the sea" in the strict sense of the term, but that a sailing along the shore, especially since it meant sailing across Nahr el Majrasa and Nahr ez Zaki.<sup>24</sup> The latter according to Masterman has a mouth considerably wider than the Jordan, which would help this theory to qualify for the meaning of the term. - See Appendix II for a detailed map of the area in question.<sup>25</sup>

Both Smith and Masterman adduce the experience of Josephus to show that such an interpretation is possible. In *Vita*, 59, Josephus describes his experience thus:

*Ἐπεὶ δὲ προεδθῶν ὀλίγον ὑπαντρίαβεν ἔμειλλον τὸν Ἰωάννην  
τόντα μετὰ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, δεύρας ἰκένοιο μὲν ἐξέκλινα, δεὰ*

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>24</sup> George Adam Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (Twelfth edition; New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1906), pp. 458-9.

<sup>25</sup> Ernest W. G. Masterman, *Studies in Galilee* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1909), p. 94.

στρωπῶ δέ τινος ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης σωθεὶς καὶ πλοίου λαβόμενος,  
ἐμβὰς εἰς τὰς Ταρκαίας διεπεραώθην....

27

Although Josephus uses the verb *διεπεραώθην*, he does not use the phrase of our disputed text. In view of this, one can hardly say that the interpretation "to sail along" the shore is possible, because of this sentence from Josephus.

Even though imbued with the utter impossibility of the existence of two Bethsaidas, Wohlenberg denies that the phrase can be construed to fit "sailing along."<sup>28</sup> The New Revised Version and the Goodspeed translation recognize this and translate "to the other side, to Bethsaida"<sup>29</sup> and "to the other side toward Bethsaida" respectively.<sup>30</sup>

The conclusion is inevitable that we must take this passage at its face value. The text of John 6:17 requires this when it says "...over the sea toward Capernaum...." Mark 6:53 informs us that they

<sup>26</sup>H. St. J. Thackeray, translator, "Josephus - The Life," The Loeb Classical Library, edited by E. Capps, et al. (New York: G. P. Putnam's, 1926), I, 112.

<sup>27</sup>Gustav Wohlenberg, "Das Evangelium des Markus," Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, edited by Theodor Zahn (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf., 1910), X, 194.

<sup>28</sup>The New Covenant Commonly Called the New Testament of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ (Revised standard version; New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, c.1946), p.87.

<sup>29</sup>J. M. Powis Smith and Edgar J. Goodspeed, The Complete Bible, An American Translation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), p. 38.

reached their general destination "And when they had crossed over, they came into the land unto Gennesaret, and drew to the shore." Matthew 14:34 likewise implies this.

These words confirm that there was a Bethsaida on the western side of the River Jordan.

#### Bethsaida of Galilee

John 12:21 reiterates the information of John 1:44 that Philip was from Bethsaida and in this passage adds "...Bethsaida of Galilee..." George Adam Smith would adduce Josephus to show that Bethsaida at this time was considered part of Galilee.<sup>30</sup> McCown correctly points out that Josephus must be read very carefully at this point to gather accurate information.<sup>31</sup> At one point, Josephus speaks of Judas of Gamala<sup>32</sup> and later describes him as Judas of Galilee.<sup>33</sup> In his Jewish Wars, Josephus speaks of Julias as a town of Lower Galonitis.<sup>34</sup> Ptolemy in the second century A.D. speaks of Julias as part of Galilee; it

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<sup>30</sup>George Adam Smith, op. cit., p. 458.

<sup>31</sup>McCown, op. cit., pp. 45-6.

<sup>32</sup>Flavius Josephus, "The Antiquities of the Jews," The Works of Flavius Josephus, translated by William Whiston (Philadelphia: David McKay, Publishers, n.d.), XVIII, i, 1.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 6.

<sup>34</sup>H. St. J. Thackeray, translator, "Josephus - The Jewish Wars," The Loeb Classical Library, edited by E. Capps, et al. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1928), II, p. 389. (II, ix, 1).

should be remembered, however, that at this time a transfer to Galilee had been effected.<sup>35</sup>

Although Bethsaida-Julias remained a city of Gaulonitis until 84 A. D., McCown would make John speak in terms of the common usage, not in terms of the political conditions of the time when these events transpired.<sup>36</sup> This effort of McCown is in keeping with his desire to locate the Bethsaida spoken of in the various passages at et-Tell (Bethsaida-Julias).

#### Traditions

The traditions mentioning Bethsaida begin with Eusebius, who says, that "...Bethsaida, the city of Andrew, Peter, and Philip, lies in Galilee near (πρός) the Lake of Gennesaret." Jerome gives the same information. Eucherius (434-450) quotes Josephus as to Bethsaida-Julias. Theodosius (530 A. D.) locates Magdala two miles from Tiberias, and two miles farther "Septem Fontes, where the Lord Christ baptized the apostles...where also he satisfied the people with five loaves and two fishes." Capernaum is two miles farther on, and Bethsaida six miles from Capernaum.<sup>37</sup> From then on the reports of travelers and traditions refer varyingly to Bethsaida Julias and the western Bethsaida.

Although using the traditions where applicable to show that Beth-

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<sup>35</sup>George Adam Smith, op. cit.

<sup>36</sup>McCown, op. cit.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 36.

saida-Julias was the only Bethsaida, McCown concludes with these sentiments:

Surely the evidence of the pilgrims as such can have little weight in determining the site of Bethsaida, certainly it cannot establish the existence of the hypothetical second city, for, earlier evidence that is unambiguous knows no western Bethsaida, and positive evidence from pilgrim tales appears only after the Crusades. The real point at issue is the interpretation of the Gospel narratives which are responsible for the hypothesis of a second Bethsaida.<sup>38</sup>

Strange as it may seem, McCown moves all to attempt to disprove a western Bethsaida; yet, at the same time, he accepts and attempts to justify the early tradition that the Feeding of the Five Thousand took place on the western side. In so doing, he rules out Luke's reference to Bethsaida as having been near the miracle site as incorrect.<sup>39</sup>

McCown glosses over the true point of this tradition as exemplified in the Church of the Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes with its wonderful mosaic, which we were fortunate to see in 1947. Built about 400 A. D., this church is a strong argument for the fact that a western Bethsaida was known, even though the site of the Feeding of the Five Thousand was misplaced.

#### Et Tabgha

The traditional site for the Feeding of the Five Thousand is located in an area known formerly as "Septem Fontes" (Seven Fountains), and is known today as 'Ain Tabgha. In this area, a short distance away from the afore-mentioned church, is Et Tabgha.

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>39</sup> Luke 9:10.

Beginning with Dr. Robinson,<sup>40</sup> most of those who recognize the Biblical requirements for two Bethsaidas would seek its former location at Et Tabgha.<sup>41</sup> It is chiefly Morrison and Thomson, who prefer to locate Bethsaida on the western bank of the Jordan, opposite Bethsaida-Julias, at a place known today as Khirbit Abu Zeina.<sup>42</sup> This identification would hardly give full emphasis to the textual requirements of Mark 6: 45 and John 6:17. The same arguments which obtain against Bethsaida-Julias would obtain against it also, mitigated slightly by the fact that the Jordan intervenes between the two locations. Such an identification carries with it the spirit of compromise.

The best fishing in the Sea of Galilee is found from Majdal to El Buteiha. The best spot is the area at the mouth of the Jordan, with the area of Et Tabgha ranking second best. From mid-January to mid-April, fishing is especially good in the Tabgha area.<sup>43</sup> The warm waters from its springs and the vegetable debris which these waters bring with them attract the fish.<sup>44</sup> Masterman concludes: "This must in any case have been the fishing suburb of Capernaum, and it is

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<sup>40</sup>Edward Robinson, Biblical Researches in Palestine, and in the Adjacent Regions (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1860), II, 405-6.

<sup>41</sup>See Appendix III for map of the Bethsaida area.

<sup>42</sup>Captain Wilson, "Sea of Galilee," The Recovery of Jerusalem, edited by Walter Morrison (London: Richard Bentley, 1871), p. 342. See also map opposite p. 397 and William M. Thomson, The Land and the Book (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, c.1908), II, 423.

<sup>43</sup>Masterman, op. cit., p. 38.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., pp. 65 ff.

probable some fishermen's huts were here." <sup>45</sup> "If there was such a place it must have been a mere fishing suburb of Capernaum, at, say, Tabighah." <sup>46</sup>

Avi-Yonah, who has compiled a map of Roman Palestine to give a survey of this country as it existed from the time of Josephus to that of Eusebius, <sup>47</sup> recognizes as valid the conclusion of Dalman that the territory of Capernaum extended to Et Tabgha. <sup>48</sup> It should be remembered that in compiling such a map, he would necessarily recognize the transfer of this area made in 84 A. D. <sup>49</sup>

Dalman states; "It is likely, however, that the Jewish fishermen of Capernaum gained their living mostly around the 'Seven Springs.'" <sup>50</sup>

In view of the evidence brought forth, it is possible to hold as far as circumstances warrant that Bethsaida - western Bethsaida - was located near Capernaum at Et Tabgha, two miles to the west-southwest of Capernaum.

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., pp. 65-6.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>47</sup> M. Avi-Yonah, "Map of Roman Palestine," The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, V (1935), p. 139.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 173 and Dalman, op. cit., p. 135.

<sup>49</sup> George Adam Smith, op. cit.

<sup>50</sup> Dalman, op. cit.

## CHAPTER II

### MOUNT OF BEATITUDES

#### Near Et Tabgha

Tradition has placed the site of the Sermon on the Mount near Capernaum and the suggested Bethsaida location.<sup>1</sup> This is not at all surprising, since this area meets the requirements laid down in the text.<sup>2</sup>

To understand the requirements of the text more fully, it would be worthwhile to retrace the steps of Jesus leading up to the events of the Sermon on the Mount.

Jesus had gone up to attend "a feast of the Jews" at Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> On His return, the controversy with the Pharisees over the plucking of grain by the disciples in the fields took place,<sup>4</sup> probably in Galilee.<sup>5</sup> Later Jesus went into a synagogue of Galilee and here healed the man with a withered hand.<sup>6</sup> Then Jesus and His disciples withdrew to the Sea

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendices II and III for maps of area in question.

<sup>2</sup>Gustaf Dalman, Sacred Sites and Ways, translated by Paul P. Levertoff (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936), pp. 154-5.

<sup>3</sup>John 5:1.

<sup>4</sup>Mark 2:23-28; Matthew 12:1-8; Luke 6:1-5.

<sup>5</sup>A. T. Robertson, A Harmony of the Gospels for Students of the Life of Christ (New York: Harper & Brothers, c.1922), p. 44.

<sup>6</sup>Mark 3:1-6; Matthew 12:9-14; Luke 6:6-11.

of Galilee, where He healed great multitudes and taught them.<sup>7</sup> The latter took place on the seashore, and quite probably along the northern shoreline. Josephus tells us of the many villages and large towns in this area, especially in the land of Gennesaret, the "exuberance of nature" as it might rightly be called.<sup>8</sup>

Then Jesus went up into "the mountain to pray."<sup>9</sup> "Mountain" must here be

...translated "Mountain range" ("highland"). For in all these passages it is not a definite single mountain - in contrast to the shore and its flat-land -- the more lonely heights, which, by the lake, are never a mountain, but everywhere a more or less furrowed highland. In fact, the Greek *ὄρος*, as well as the Hebrew *har*, can have the meaning of "mountainous country," and in the Aramaic of the Palestinian Talmud and of the Palestinian Evangelium tur is used for "mountain" as well as for "field." The "desert place" in Mk. i. 35 and Lk. iv. 42, and the "mountain" in Mt. v. 1, are essentially the same: the sheep remain, according to Mt. xviii. 12, on the "mountain," but according to Lk. xv. 4 in the "wilderness"; ....<sup>10</sup>

As we personally observed in 1947, the area of Capernaum is heavily strewn with black basaltic rock. The city of Capernaum itself must have stood on some of the lower slopes of these rock-hewn hillsides going up to the "highland." Although attempts have been made to cultivate the patches less strewn with rocks, this whole area to the east,

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<sup>7</sup>Mark 3:7-12; Matthew 12:15-21.

<sup>8</sup>H. St. J. Thackeray, translator, "Josephus - The Jewish Wars," The Loeb Classical Library, edited by E. Capps, et al. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1928), II, pp. 721-2. (III, x, 8).

<sup>9</sup>Luke 6:12.

<sup>10</sup>Dalman, op. cit., p. 155.

north, and west of Capernaum must have been used as a pasture-land. It has the appearance and the atmosphere of a "lonely place" well suited for the Lord to spend the night in prayer.<sup>11</sup>

Today the hospice, convent, and octagonal church of the Italian Sisters stand on the traditional Mount of Beatitudes site. It is on a rock-strewn, gradually rising slope of the Capernaum highland. It well fits the requirements for the Sermon on the Mount. The slope permitted Jesus to go higher up with His disciples. In the less rugged area where the hospice and church stand today, the Lord could well speak to the multitude assembled there. The range slopes gradually to the seashore, and not far from the shore it is crossed by the road which today leads to the peaceful setting of Tell Hum (Capernaum). To the west of the slope, the Damascus Road, then the Via Maris, passed through a plain and climbed the slopes of the "highland."<sup>12</sup>

Some place the site of the Sermon on the Mount farther down the slope, toward its western edge, just above the fountains of Tabgha, not far from the Church of the Loaves and the Fishes. This also would fit the requirements of the text.<sup>13</sup> Jesus would have stood on the brow of the slope, and the people gathered in the plain of Tabgha below Him.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 154-5.

<sup>12</sup>George Adam Smith, The Historical Geography of the Holy Land (Twelfth edition; New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1906), p. 427.

<sup>13</sup>Dalman, op. cit., p. 156.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

From either the former or the latter site, the words of Jesus that "a city set on an hill cannot be hid" become especially meaningful.<sup>15</sup> From where Jesus sat, He and the multitudes could see towns and villages on the hills of Upper Galilee, which hang over the northern shore of the Sea, a few miles to the north. Today the traveller can see the white houses of Safad gleam to the northwest, as he sits and meditates on the "Mount of Beatitudes."

It is improbable that the highlands and slopes about Jesus were covered with the "lillies of the field."<sup>16</sup> Among the flowers of Galilee are the daffodils, yellow ferulas, anemones, cyclomen, arnunculus, poppies, and others.<sup>17</sup>

From these slopes Jesus could look out upon the azure blue of the Sea of Galilee; He could see the towns, villages and the cities which thrived on its shoreline. He could look out upon the Tetrarchy of Philip to the east beyond the Jordan, the Decapolis area on the southeastern shore, and the gleaming stone of Tiberias, the Roman city of the lake to the southwest. A careful reading of the sermon which He spoke with the setting in mind will give evidence of the abundance of illustrative material on which He drew to point up His words.

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<sup>15</sup> Matthew 5:14b.

<sup>16</sup> Matthew 6:28-29.

<sup>17</sup> Madeleine S. and J. Lane Miller, Encyclopedia of Bible Life (Third edition; New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, c.1944), pp. 199-201.

The Bible informs us "After He had ended all His sayings in the audience of the people, He entered into Capernaum."<sup>18</sup> Since the suggested site of the Beatitudes is near Capernaum, this is an added factor for locating the event in this area.

#### Tradition

Tradition has observed the suitability of this area for the site of this famous discourse of our Saviour. The first reference is found in Theodosius: "Septem Fontes, where the Lord Christ baptized the apostles."<sup>19</sup> Theodosius seems to be under the impression that Jesus baptized His disciples when He chose them. However, the fact that he mentions this thought in connection with the fountain of Tabgha indicates the impression of his day that the Calling of the Twelve and the consequent Sermon on the Mount took place nearby. This thought is also echoed by later writers. Arculf, ca 670 A.D. fixed the Beatitudes site on the top of the hill at the end of the wadi that leads up to the north of the famous fountain of Tabgha. This would put it near the site of the Italian Church.<sup>20</sup>

A later writer Petrus Diaconus speaks of "...a cave in a mountain

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<sup>18</sup> Matthew 8:5; Luke 7:1.

<sup>19</sup> Chester McCown, "The Problem of the Site of Bethsaida," The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, X, 1 (1930), p. 36.

<sup>20</sup> Charles Foster Kent, Biblical Geography and History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924), p. 253.

near the Seven Springs, where Jesus uttered the Beatitudes."<sup>21</sup> About 1170 Eugesippus (Hegesippus) writes that

...the descent of that mountain, where our Lord preached to the multitude, was two miles from Capernaum; one mile from there is the place where Jesus fed the five thousand....<sup>22</sup>

About 1283 Brocardus speaks of the site as being on the spur of the hill to the east of the plain of Tabgha.<sup>23</sup> Fretellus and John of Wuerzberg speak of it as being about two miles from Capernaum and about one mile from the "feeding" location.<sup>24</sup> The Franciscan Noe also speaks in favor of this identification at his time (1508).

#### Horns of Hattin

About the middle of the fourteenth century difficulties arose. Very likely the road became insecure and the Moslems hostile. At about this time, the Latin tradition arose which would transfer the site of the Sermon on the Mount to the Horns of Hattin.<sup>25</sup>

Apart from being somewhat distant from the sea and the more-heavily populated area of the Sea of Galilee, the Horns of Hattin are physically adapted for the event.

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<sup>21</sup>Dalman, op. cit.

<sup>22</sup>Ernest W. G. Masterman, Studies in Galilee (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1909), p. 85.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 86.

<sup>24</sup>Dalman, op. cit.

<sup>25</sup>Masterman, op. cit., p. 87.

According to Morrison, the Horns of Hattin are part of an ancient crater. The "horns" are at either end and the whole of it rises some forty to fifty feet above the Plain of Hattin. A more level area is in the center. This formation is very distinctive and can be seen from the distance, e.g., from the northern seashore or the Tabgha "Beatitudes" site through the Valley of the Pigeons.<sup>26</sup> Some have been led to accept this as the true site.<sup>27</sup> Others find the sides too steep to meet the needs of the Bible narrative.<sup>28</sup>

The tradition for the Horns of Hattin is Crusader in origin, without basis in the earlier Greek tradition. Its late origin is in accord with the trend of the times to move Biblical sites to meet the needs and demands of the day.<sup>29</sup> Wonderful were the accomplishments of some of these late traditions in moving Biblical events to sites near to the Mediterranean!

Also decisive is the distance of the Horns of Hattin from the Sea of Galilee and its heavily-populated shores, and most of all from Capernaum, where Jesus healed the Centurion's servant, it would seem, in-

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<sup>26</sup> Captain Wilson, "Sea of Galilee," The Recovery of Jerusalem, edited by Walter Morrison (London: Richard Bentley, 1871), pp. 356-7.

<sup>27</sup> See Appendix IV for a comparative listing.

<sup>28</sup> J. W. McGarvey, Lands of the Bible (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Co., c.1880), p. 318.

<sup>29</sup> Masterman, op. cit.

mediately after the close of the Sermon on the Mount.<sup>30</sup> Dalman is in accord with this view.<sup>31</sup>

Although there is a slight variation in the early traditions on the exact site, there is general agreement that this notable discourse of Jesus was spoken of in the lonely areas of the ridge between the plain of Tabgha and Capernaum. From personal observation, it would seem that Dalman very beautifully and correctly expresses the conclusion to be drawn from this study:

Our view is that the Gospels do not give an exact spot at all, but only a general indication that the mountainous region above Capernaum was of importance in the life and activity of Jesus. The place where He habitually prayed and taught was really not the synagogue, although He visited it, but the "wilderness." The whole "wilderness" on the heights must be conceived as the region where He was wont to pray, and the whole slope as His habitual seat for instruction, in contrast to the custom of the scribes.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>Luke 7:1-10.

<sup>31</sup>Dalman, op. cit., p. 114.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 157.

## CHAPTER III

### CANA

The identification of Cana is among those of many Biblical sites which are difficult to make with certainty. Various suggestions have been advanced with varying degrees of "certainty or hesitation." The dispute is now centered about two locations, Khirbit Qana (Kana) to the north of Nazareth on the northern edge of the Plain of Battuf, and Kafr Kanna on the present-day road to Tiberias to the northeast of Nazareth.<sup>1</sup>

All that has been said and written about the Biblical location of Cana has not solved the problem with certainty. Despite all argumentation and elaborate "proving," the place where those great and glorious miracles of our Lord took place is still uncertain.<sup>2</sup>

Three factors enter into this consideration: derivation, traditions, and geographical location of suggested sites.

#### Derivation

The name Qana (Kana) is spelled *Kana* in Greek. The Hebrew would be *קנח* (Kanaḥ), like that appearing in Joshua 16:8 and 17:9, as a river which formed the boundary line between Ephraim and Manasseh. Joshua 19:28 speaks of a town on this boundary by the name of Kanah. The root meaning of "Kanaḥ" is "reedy," which well fits the marshy area

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendix V for a detailed map of the area in question.

<sup>2</sup>John 2:1-11; 4:46-54.

in the Plain of Battuf, just above which Khirbit Qana is situated.<sup>3</sup>

Kafr Kanna presents difficulties. In Greek the first letter would be X instead of K.<sup>4</sup> This is also evident from the fact that the natives pronounce it "Tschenna." Dalman holds that "Kenna" combined with "Kafr" indicates that the name originated when Aramaic was the vernacular. The site is Jewish, a fact borne out by an Aramaic mosaic inscription found under the Latin church; more will be stated about this later on.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, from a linguistic point of view, the Qana site, directly north of Nazareth, is favored.

#### Traditions

An analysis of the various accounts of pilgrims concerning Cana indicates that the earlier pilgrims visited a Cana northeast of Nazareth, whereas from the twelfth century to the seventeenth, pilgrims of the Crusader Period paid their devotions at a location north of Nazareth, at Khirbit Qana. During and after the seventeenth century, pilgrims again spoke of the Kafr Kanna site as the place where the first great miracle of Jesus took place. Since 1841, when Robinson again called attention to the previous identification of Khirbit Qana as the

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<sup>3</sup> Claude Reignier Conder, Tent Work in Palestine (London: Alexander P. Watt, 1889), p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Gustaf Dalman, Sacred Sites and Ways, translated by Paul P. Levertoff (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1936), p.112.

site,<sup>6</sup> the dispute has been raging, touching the two sites.<sup>7</sup>

In making a reference to Cana, Josephus merely makes mention of it as having been his residence at the time that he was called back to Tiberias;<sup>8</sup> the Talmud offers no help.<sup>9</sup>

Thus, the early travelers are the first to speak of Cana and give some indication as to its location. Up to a degree, Dalman is correct when he tends to discount their testimony in favor of later pilgrims.<sup>10</sup>

Both Eusebius and Jerome confuse Cana of Galilee with the Cana of Tyre, the Kanah of Joshua 19:28. Toward the end of the sixth century, the pilgrim Antoninus travelled from Ptolemais (Acre) to Dio-Caesarea (Sepphoris) and then to Cana. He gives the distance from Sepphoris to Cana as three miles.<sup>11</sup> Measuring the most recent edition of the Survey of Palestine maps, gives us "as the crow flies" around six miles from Sepphoris to Khirbit Qana and about three-and-three-fourth miles to

<sup>6</sup>Edward Robinson, Biblical Researches in Palestine, and in the Adjacent Regions (Boston: Crocker and Brewster), II, 456.

<sup>7</sup>Dalman, op. cit., p. 102 and Conder, op. cit., p. 102.

<sup>8</sup>H. St. J. Thackeray, translator, "Josephus - The Life," The Loeb Classical Library, edited by E. Capps, et al. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1926), I, 35. (16 f.).

<sup>9</sup>Conder, op. cit.

<sup>10</sup>Dalman, op. cit.

<sup>11</sup>Claude Reignier Conder and H. H. Kitchener, The Survey of Western Palestine (London: The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1881), I, 392.

Kafr Kanna.<sup>12</sup> Antoninus also speaks of a spring of water, which Khirbit Qana does not have but which Kafr Kana has. Although the distance given is incorrect, it would more closely fit Kafr Kanna than Khirbit Qana.<sup>13</sup>

In the eighth century, Saint Willibald (726) writes:

And having there [Nazareth] recommended themselves to the Lord, they proceeded to the town of Cana, where our Lord turned water into wine. A large church stands there, and near the altar is still preserved one of the six vessels which our Lord commanded to fill with water to be turned into wine; and the travellers drunk wine out of it. They remained there one day, and then continued their journey to Mount Tabor....<sup>14</sup>

The reference of Willibald to the church recalls that Conder and Kitchener report the discovery of church ruins, with foundation stones of different material than that found above the ground, with architectural and other stone debris found elsewhere in the village. Some of this may date to the Crusader Age, while much of it seemingly is considerably older.<sup>15</sup>

Dalman speaks of an Aramaic mosaic inscription found under the Latin church on a lower floor, and of a still lower chamber with a

<sup>12</sup> Survey of Palestine, 1:100,000 Palestine, Sheet 3, Safad (Revised edition; Jaffa: Survey of Palestine, April, 1944) and Survey of Palestine, 1:100,000 Palestine, Sheet 5, Nazareth (Revised edition; Jaffa: Survey of Palestine, December, 1944).

<sup>13</sup> Conder and Kitchener, op. cit.

<sup>14</sup> Thomas Wright, editor, "The Travels of Willibald," Early Travels in Palestine (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1848), p. 16.

<sup>15</sup> Conder and Kitchener, op. cit., pp. 392-4.

cistern under the former. He conjectures that it was once a Jewish synagogue, but permits the possibility that it may have been turned into a church in "comparatively early days." <sup>16</sup>

It is interesting to note that Avi-Yonah in his Map of Roman Palestine has placed the synagogue symbol at the modern site of Kafr Kana. <sup>17</sup>

In a brief antiquities listing, R. W. Hamilton, Director of the Antiquities Department of the former Palestine Mandate Government lists: "Traces of medieval church, architectural fragments, column shafts, rock-cut tombs. To west remains of building at ed Deir." <sup>18</sup>

Willibald's reference to his consequent journey to Mt. Tabor is much more reasonable if Kana were located at Kafr Kanna than at Khirbit Qana.

St. Paula (fourth century) records that she passed through Kana. Theodorus (530 A. D.) speaks of Sepphoris as being equidistant from Kana and Nazareth. <sup>19</sup> Measuring the most recent Survey Maps "as the crow flies" shows that this would be approximately correct for Kafr Kanna but not at all for Khirbit Qana. In this instance Theodorus does

<sup>16</sup> Dalman, op. cit., pp. 112-3.

<sup>17</sup> M. Avi-Yonah, compiler, Roman Palestine (Revised edition; Jaffa: Survey of Palestine, 1939).

<sup>18</sup> R. W. Hamilton, "List of Archaeological Sites," Supplement No. 2 to the Palestine Gazette Extraordinary No. 1375 of November, 1944 (Jerusalem: The Antiquities Department of the Palestine Mandate Government), p. 1274.

<sup>19</sup> Conder, op. cit., p. 80.

not give any direction.<sup>20</sup>

Saewulf in 1103 writes:

Six miles to the north-east of Nazareth, on a hill, is Cana of Galilee, where our Lord converted water into wine at the marriage feast. There nothing is left standing except the monastery called that of Architriclinius.<sup>21</sup>

Saewulf's distance may refer to Khirbit Qana, since it is only around four miles to Kafr Kanna, but according to exact measuring of the most recent Survey Maps a good eight miles to Khirbit Qana. The direction is more fitting for Kafr Kana than for Khirbit Qana, since both Nazareth and Khirbit Qana are between Grid Lines 178-179, and hence Khirbit Qana is directly north of Nazareth.<sup>22</sup>

Saewulf's reference to the monastery of Architriclinius (a personification of the "Manager of the Feast" recalls the ruins found by Conder and Kitchener at Kafr Qana, near which is a slope known as "Et Deir," to which Mr. Hamilton in the aforementioned Antiquities publication makes reference.<sup>23</sup>

Thus, we see that the testimony of Saewulf is confusing and inconclusive, and does little to clarify the issue.

The witness of John of Wuartzberg (1100 A. D.) is also somewhat

<sup>20</sup>Conder, op. cit.

<sup>21</sup>Thomas Wright, editor, "The Travels of Saewulf," op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>22</sup>Survey of Palestine, 1:100,000 Palestine, Sheet 3, Safad (Revised edition; Jaffa: Survey of Palestine, April, 1944) and Survey of Palestine, 1:100,000 Palestine, Sheet 5, Nazareth (Revised edition; Jaffa: Survey of Palestine, December, 1944).

<sup>23</sup>Conder and Kitchener, op. cit.

inconclusive. He speaks of Cana as being east of Sepphoris. This would, of course, fit Kafr Kanna, but not at all Khirbit Qana. He does give the distance from Cana to Nazareth as being four miles and from Cana to Sepphoris, two miles. In the latter case, the distance actually is about four miles. Choosing between the two sites, the distance far better fits Kafr Kanna than Khirbit Qana. Conder, in Tent Work in Palestine, is inclined to throw the mileage evidence in favor of Khirbit Qana.<sup>24</sup> However, in the official report, Survey of Western Palestine, he finds this good evidence for the Kafr Kanna identification.<sup>25</sup>

Indefinite is the witness of Phocus (twelfth century) who traveled from Ptolemais to Sepphoris and thence to Cana, and thence to Nazareth.<sup>26</sup> A glance at the map would make the Kafr Kanna site the more probable identification for such a journey. However, this need not be conclusive.

Burchard (1283), Marino Sanuto (1321), Johannes Poloner (1421) speak of the northern location of Cana. Two Florentine maps of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries set Sepphoris between Cana and Nazareth.<sup>27</sup> A recent official map of the Crusade Period shows both sites:

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<sup>24</sup>Conder, op. cit., Tent Work is a later work.

<sup>25</sup>Conder and Kitchener, op. cit.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>Dalman, op. cit., p. 102.

Cana of Galilee at Khirbit Qana and "Cefrequinne" at Kafr Kanna.<sup>28</sup>

In 1620 Quaresimus mentions Cana of Galilee as being in the north and adds that ruins of a church are recognizable at "Sepher Cana." From this time on travellers speak of Cana as being to the northeast of Nazareth (Rogers, 1631; Neitschitz, 1636; Surius, 1644-1647; Doubdan, 1652). Dalman would give the coming of the Franciscans as the reason for this "change in the Christian traditions."<sup>29</sup>

In 1841, during his memorable researches in Palestine, Dr. Robinson saw the ruins of Khirbit Qana from the distance and heard his guide speak of it as "Cana of Galilee" (Kana el Jelil).

Dr. Zeller, a resident of Nazareth, explicitly states that the Arabs at his time did not know Khirbit Qana as "Kana el Jelil" and is so quoted by Conder and Kitchener.<sup>30</sup> Godet reports that he spoke with a European in Nazareth on September 26, 1872, who told him that the Arab guide, a Christian by the name of Abu Nasir, only after the importunate questions of Dr. Robinson, yielded and spoke of it as Cana of Galilee.<sup>31</sup>

Conder reports that both in 1872 as well as in 1875 he and his

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<sup>28</sup>F. J. Salmon, compiler, Palestine of the Crusades (Revised edition; Jaffa: Survey of Palestine, October, 1914).

<sup>29</sup>Dalman, op. cit.

<sup>30</sup>Conder and Kitchener, op. cit.

<sup>31</sup>F. Godet, A Commentary on the Gospel of St. John, translated from the second French edition by E. W. Shelders and M. D. Cusin (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1877), II, 2.

group asked for Kana el Jelil, but found it unknown to the Moslem peasantry. One native told him that the name is only used by the "Franks." C. W. Wilson is reported to have said that the name was given him on the spot.<sup>32</sup>

Since Dr. Robinson's time, a succession of men have followed his identification, even though church tradition still holds to Kafr Kanna. Some of the most recent writers, such as Dalman, Wright, Gehman, and others favor Robinson's identification. It is interesting to note that Avi-Yonah, in his Map of Roman Palestine, follows this identification. Although the works are largely not available, his source material indicates that he follows the opinions of those who in turn have blandly accepted the view of Robinson.<sup>33</sup>

#### Josephus

In the Life of Josephus, we read:

My quarters at the time were at a village of Galilee called Cana.

Having read Silas's dispatch I mustered 200 men and marched all night long, sending a courier in advance to inform the people of Tiberias that I was coming. As I approached the city at dawn, I was met by the population, including John, who saluted me....<sup>34</sup>

Some would make this conclusive evidence that such a midnight ride

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<sup>32</sup> Conder and Kitchener, op. cit., p. 287.

<sup>33</sup> M. Avi-Yonah, "Map of Roman Palestine," The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, V (1935), p. 170.

<sup>34</sup> H. St. J. Thackeray, op. cit., pp. 35, 37. (16-17).

necessarily demands that Khirbit Qana had been the Cana of that day.<sup>35</sup>

Conder's reaction is recorded:

The mentioning of Kana in Josephus when he marched from Sepphoris to Tiberias, certainly directs us to Kefr Kenna, and not to Khurbit Kana (or Kana el Jelil), which latter place would have been out of the way.<sup>36</sup>

A glance at the map serves to substantiate the sentiments of Conder.

Thus, it is impossible to make a definite identification. This fact is borne out by the comparative study of opinions in Appendix VI, which shows that all writers, whether they look for Cana at Khirbit Qana or Kafr Kanna, indicate that the identification cannot be certain.

Conder's conclusions are:

Unfortunately there is scarcely anything in Scripture which would lead to a choice between the two, nor do the chance references of Josephus enable us to do more than speculate as to the comparative likelihood of the sites. In the Talmud, Cana is not noticed; thus there is nothing in contemporary literature to enable us to decide.<sup>37</sup>

Although linguistically Khirbit Qana is favored, from all other points of view it would seem whatever decision can be made must necessarily be favorable for the location of Cana at Kafr Kanna.

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<sup>35</sup>Dalman, op. cit., p. 101.

<sup>36</sup>Conder and Kitchener, op. cit., p. 394.

<sup>37</sup>Conder, op. cit., p. 79.

## CHAPTER IV

### BETHANY BEYOND THE JORDAN

Through the centuries thousands of pilgrims have come annually to take part in the ceremonies which are held on the banks of the Jordan, near the Dead Sea, in memory of the Baptism of Jesus. Tradition assumes that this sacred event took place in this area, variously spoken of as "Bethany beyond the Jordan" or as "Bethabara."

The King James Version of John 1:28 reads, "These things were done in Bethabara beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing."

Newer translations offer the more accurate reading of "Bethany beyond the Jordan," of which the following are representative examples:

This took place in Bethany beyond the Jordan, where John was baptizing.<sup>1</sup>

These things occurred at Bethany beyond the Jordan where John was baptizing.<sup>2</sup>

This took place at Bethany, on the farther side of the Jordan, where John was baptizing.<sup>3</sup>

These things were done in Bethany beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The New Covenant Commonly Called the New Testament of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ (Revised Standard Version; New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, c.1946), p. 196.

<sup>2</sup>Gerrit Verkuyl, Berkely Version of the New Testament (Berkeley, California: James J. Gillick & Co., 1946), p. 220.

<sup>3</sup>The New Testament in Basic English (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1941), p. 190.

<sup>4</sup>J. M. Powis Smith and Edgar Goodspeed, The Complete Bible, An American Translation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), p. 85.

These things were done in Bethany beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing.<sup>5</sup>

Τὰ ὅσα ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ἐγένετο πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, ὅπου  
ἦν ὁ Ἰωάννης Βαπτιστῆς.

Bethany beyond the Jordan, also known as Bethabara, has given rise to a number of problems of a textual, exegetical, and archaeological nature. All these have played their role in the various identifications which have been made, and must necessarily be considered in every attempt to make an identification.

#### Origen's Influence

Many have based their suggested identification of the Baptism site on etymological grounds. In looking for a suitable site, they have been guided by the meaning of Beth-Abara "House of the Crossing." The name of Bethabara as found in the King James Version goes back to the days of Origen.

Origen changed the reading of "Bethany" to "Bethabara," because he was unable to find the memory of a "Bethany beyond the Jordan" but did find a "Bethabara." The latter term also was suited for the allegorizing tendencies for which Origen is known. In view of this, even

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<sup>5</sup> A. T. Robertson, A Harmony of the Gospels for Students of the Life of Christ (Revised version; New York: Harper & Brothers, c.1922), p. 22.

<sup>6</sup> Eberhard Nestle, Novum Testamentum Graece Cum Apparatu Critico, revised by E. Erwin Nestle (Seventeenth edition; Stuttgart: Privilegierte Wuertembergische Bibelanstalt, 1945), pp. 231-2.

though it meant changing the text, Origen made the change.<sup>7</sup>

The latest edition of Nestle indicates that the following manuscripts favor the reading of Bethabara (Βηθαβαρα) ΚΨ 33<sup>el</sup> 59<sup>sc</sup> ; the reading of Betharaba (Βηθαραβα) is favored by 55<sup>2</sup> 59 .<sup>8</sup> Bethany is found in 5<sup>N</sup> ABC EFG, etc .<sup>9</sup> One exegete concludes:

There is no doubt that the reading Βηθαβαρα is to be preferred. The addition πέραν τοῦ Ἰερουσαλὴμ confirms this reading, as the existence of Bethany near Jerusalem rendered the distinguishing designation necessary. Bethany 57 7 7 7 7 meaning "boathouse" and Bethabara having the same meaning 57 7 7 7, a ferry boat, is it not possible that the same place may have been called by both names indifferently?<sup>10</sup>

Zahn expresses himself thus:

Die daneben ueberlieferte Namensform Bethabara ist zwar nicht, wie oft behauptet worden ist, eine Konjektur des Orig., sondern von diesem vorgefunden und verdankt ihre Verbreitung nur zum Teil der warmen Empfehlung dieses groszen Gelehrten. Sie verdankt aber ihre Entstehung so offenbar derselben Verlegenheit, welche den Orig. bestimmte, sie vor dem aelteren, damals in den griech. Hxx [Handschriften] fast allein-herrschenden Βηθαβαρα zu bevorzugen, dasz an ihre Urspruenglichkeit nicht zu denken ist.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Allan Menzies, editor, "Origen's Commentary on the Gospel of John," The Anti-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Fathers Down to A. D. 325 (Third edition; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899), II, pp. 370-1.

<sup>8</sup>Nestle, op. cit., p. 231.

<sup>9</sup>Marcus Dods, "The Gospel of St. John," The Expositor's Greek Testament, edited by W. Robertson Nicoll (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., n.d.), I, 694.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 694-5.

<sup>11</sup>Theodor Zahn, "Das Evangelium des Johannes," Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, edited by Theodor Zahn (First and second edition; Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nchf., 1908), I, 115-6.

In view of "die warme Empfehlung" of Origen for the Bethabara reading, early archaeologists sought for the site on the basis of this reading. Thus, Conder, whose monumental work in Palestine opened up archaeological endeavors on a more or less scientific basis, speaks of his suggested site and reasons for choosing his particular identification thus:

The most interesting discovery in connection with the river was that of the ford called 'Arabah. The name was found in one place only, and does not recur in the ten thousand names collected during the survey. It was applied by the Arabs to one of the chief fords leading over to Bashan, in the vicinity of Bethshean, where the road from Galilee comes down the tributary valley of Jezreel. 'Arabah means "ferry" or "crossing," and there is no doubt that it is the same word which occurs in Beth Arabah, "the house of the crossing," mentioned (John 1:28) as a place where John preached, and where, according to the usual opinion, Christ was Himself baptized.<sup>12</sup>

Conder's findings in Palestine, monumental as they were, had a profound effect on others who were active in archaeological and exegetical writing. This is especially true for those who wrote soon after Conder's explorations. We find that Bruce, Edersheim, Godet, Guthe, Hastings, Hunter, and Sanday of yesteryear and Adams of the present day feel that the site lay near Bethshean (Scythopolis or Beisan today) at Mukhadat el 'Arabah, one mile north of the mouth of Wady Jalud<sup>13</sup> and about the same distance from the Jisr ash Sh. Husein Bridge, which today is an important crossing point from the west to

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<sup>12</sup>Claude Reignier Conder, Palestine (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., n.d.), pp. 73-4.

<sup>13</sup>William M. Thomson, The Land and the Book (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, c.1908), I, 368.

the east side of the Jordan. -- See Appendix VIII for a map which locates this identification.<sup>14</sup>

A surprising number of scholars accept the area of the South Jordan as the site of the baptism and the earlier activity of John. There are those like George Adam Smith, listed in Appendix VII, who feel unable to make a decision or to offer an opinion.<sup>15</sup>

#### John II:1

Influential in the identifications of the baptism site has been the reference, "And the third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee; and the mother of Jesus was there."<sup>16</sup> The problem is whether this reference to the third day is to John 1:43 or whether it refers to the days of the wedding feast. In the latter case, the third day would have no bearing whatsoever on the identification of the baptism site.

A number of scholars feel that the third day here must refer to John 1:43, and hence becomes a factor in the final geographical decision. Among these are Adams, Conder, Hastings, Meyer and Orr. These decide for the northern site, since the southern traditional site would

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<sup>14</sup>Survey of Palestine, 1:100,000 Palestine, Sheet 5, Nazareth (Revised edition; Jaffa: Survey of Palestine, December, 1944).

<sup>15</sup>George Adam Smith, Historical Geography of the Holy Land (Twelfth edition; New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1906), p. 469.

<sup>16</sup>John 2:1.

be too far away. Others agree that the reference is to John 1:43, but feel that this does neither necessitate accepting the northern site nor rejecting the southern identification. They are of the opinion that Jesus could have been in the area of the Lower Jordan and still have reached Cana of Galilee. Among these are Bernard, Brown, Lange, Lenski, Olmstead, and Reynolds. Others feel that the site must be sought somewhere between the northern and southern sites. Thomson strongly suggests the present-day Damiya ford.<sup>17</sup> Stanley thinks of Succoth, beyond the Jordan.<sup>18</sup> Van de Velde suggests the Bethbarah of Judges 7:24, which very likely faced the mouth of Wady Farah.<sup>19</sup> This would place it at or near the present Damiya ford.

Zahn very sensibly feels that, although reference is made to John 1:43, it does not mean that after three days Jesus was at the wedding in Cana. He reasons:

Da Jo 1, 19-39 Ereignisse von 3 aufeinander-folgenden Tagen, darauf wieder von zwei Tagen v. 41-51 berichtet hat, ohne ausdruecklich zu sagen, ob die zweite Reihe an die erste sich unmittelbar angeschlossen habe...kann es nicht seine Absicht sein, dasz der Leser die Tage von Anfang zaehle, als ob er ein lueckenloses Tagebuck vor sich haette. Jo pflegt nur den Zeitabstand eines neuen Ereignisses von dem letzten vorher berichteten anzu-geben, und er tut dies nur da mit bestimmten Zeitangaben, wo die

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<sup>17</sup> Thomson, op. cit., p. 366.

<sup>18</sup> Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Sinai and Palestine, in Connection with Their History (Second revised edition; New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1883), pp. 380-1.

<sup>19</sup> Thomson, op. cit., p. 368 and John D. Davis, The Westminster Dictionary of the Bible, revised and rewritten by Henry Snyder Gehman (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, c.1944), p. 68.

Kuerze der Zwischenzeit von Bedeutung fuer das inner Verhaeltnis der beiden Ereignisse ist.<sup>20</sup>

Zahn feels that the reference is to the time of the beginning of the wedding and the accompanying several days of festivities, for he reasons:

Die Meinung von 2,1 kann also nur die sein, dasz die Hochzeitsfeier am dritten Tage, von dem Tage von 1, 43 an gerechnet, ihren Anfang nahm. Dasz aber Jesus mit seinen Juengern an demselben Tage in Kana eintraf, oder mit anderen Worten, dasz das τῆ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ der Sache nach nicht zu ἐγένετο γάμος sondern zu dem in v.2 Berichteten gehoere, ist jedenfalls nicht zu beweisen, und ist wenig wahrscheinlich. Denn schon die Worte καὶ ἦν ἡ κίτρη τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐκεῖ versetzen uns mitten in das Fest. ... Wir erfahren also gar nicht, wie lange die Feier gedauert hatte, als die vom Jordan her Ankommenden eingeladen wurden, an der weiteren Feier teilzunehmen.<sup>21</sup>

It is very possible that Jesus and His disciples came toward the closing days of the wedding festival. The fact that the wine was giving out would well fit into such a situation. It was unthinkable from the Jewish point of view to have an inadequate wine supply for such a highly important celebration.<sup>22</sup>

From Jewish custom we know that the common wedding day for a Jewish maiden was a Wednesday afternoon.<sup>23</sup> The festival varied in length, depending on the economic status of the families; it could last as

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<sup>20</sup>Zahn, op. cit., p. 144.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., pp. 147-8.

<sup>22</sup>Alfred Edersheim, Sketches of Jewish Social Life in the Days of Christ (New York: Geo. H. Doran Co., n. d.), p. 152.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 151.

long as seven days,<sup>24</sup> for it was considered a religious duty to give merriment and pleasure to the new couple.<sup>25</sup> In view of this, Zahn's reasoning that Jesus came toward the end of the feast would seem quite acceptable and correct.

#### Southern Jordan Location

Origen refers to the fact that church tradition had spoken of the baptism as having taken place at the traditional baptism area of today at Makhadat Hajla Ford.<sup>26</sup> Eusebius and the Madaba Map concur in this. With the exception of the Middle Ages when it was shown a little farther up, the present traditional site has remained constant.<sup>27</sup>

Geographical reasons account for this. Southern Jordan has several fords: Makhadat Hajla, Makhadat al Hinu, Makhadat al Maghtas, Makhadat al Roraniya, where the Amman Highway crosses the Jordan,<sup>28</sup> and Makhadat Umm an Nakhla, as shown on the detailed map found in Appendix IX. Over these poured the commerce and people from Judea into

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<sup>24</sup>Cunningham Geikie, The Life and Words of Christ (New York: Lovell, Coryell & Co., n.d.), p. 331.

<sup>25</sup>Edersheim, op. cit., p. 152.

<sup>26</sup>Menzies, op. cit.

<sup>27</sup>F. J. Salmon, compiler, Palestine of the Crusades (Revised edition; Jaffa: Survey of Palestine, October, 1944).

<sup>28</sup>Survey of Palestine, 1:100,000 Palestine, Sheet 10, Jerusalem (Revised edition, Jaffa: Survey of Palestine, December, 1944).

Perea and the land beyond. Jericho's customs-station<sup>29</sup> was of great importance and yielded much income.<sup>30</sup> The current excavations at Herodian Jericho with the fortress overlooking the palatial site emphasize this point.<sup>31</sup>

The flow of men and commerce would fit the popularity record of the ministry of John the Baptist.<sup>33</sup> The area was readily accessible to people from all over the land of Palestine, as is indicated in the above sections of Scripture. This would not be so true of the northern site. Of importance is also the attitude of the Scribes and Pharisees over against Galilee and especially the area of the Decapolis, in which the northern identification would place it. Here, a few miles to the west, lay Scythopolis (Beisan), an important member of the Greek City League, on the western side of the Jordan.

Origin refers to the lack of a place-memory, which caused him to make the afore-mentioned change.<sup>33</sup> Godet mentions the effect of the Roman War in causing many ancient localities to disappear, even to the extent that names were forgotten. This, of course, has had an influ-

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<sup>29</sup>Dalman, op. cit., pp. 88-9.

<sup>30</sup>Luke 19:1-10.

<sup>31</sup>James J. Kelso, "The First Campaign of Excavation in New Testament Jericho," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, No. 120 (December, 1950), 11-22.

<sup>32</sup>Mark 1:2-11; Matthew 3:1-17; Luke 3:3-23; John 1:19-28.

<sup>33</sup>Menzies, op. cit.

ence on current identifications.<sup>34</sup>

A consideration is the fact that Bethabara, the reading found in some earlier manuscripts, need not necessarily refer to a single spot. The name generally refers to a ford ("house of the crossing"), of which the Jordan in its southern section had several, as mentioned before.<sup>35</sup>

A further reason for the lack of memory of a place-name is the fact that the Jordan itself winds its way through its own immediate flood-plain, known as the Zor. There are no villages in the Zor today, neither where there any in the days gone by.<sup>36</sup> In fact, until the Middle Ages, lions and panthers still lurked in its bushes (Jeremiah 49:19). The Madaba Map shows a lion running after a gazelle.<sup>37</sup> The annual spring floods, which sometimes cover the flood-plain (Zor) from bank to bank and the very hot, depressing weather makes life for those who today camp in the Zor a rather difficult experience.<sup>38</sup> This fact we experienced ourselves, when, in April, 1947, we crossed the Jordan on the Amman Highway and were halted at the Allenby Bridge for customs formalities. We could not but think of the terrible heat which must shimmer here in the hotter months from June to September.

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<sup>34</sup>F. Godet, A Commentary on the Gospel of St. John, translated from the second French edition by E. W. Shelders and M. D. Cusin (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1877), I, 419.

<sup>35</sup>Dalman, op. cit., p. 87.

<sup>36</sup>Nelson Glueck, The River Jordan (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, c.1946), Chapter 4.

<sup>37</sup>Dalman, op. cit., pp. 83-4.

<sup>38</sup>Glueck, op. cit.

Dalman suggests that Bethany beyond the Jordan was a small collection of huts for those who manned the ferry, evidenced by David's crossing on a ferry.<sup>39</sup> or served as frontier- and customs-guards, and there was also possibly an inn of some kind. The Madaba Map shows a house on piles with a ladder at the ferry, which was since ancient days an important crossing place.<sup>40</sup>

A short distance above this ford, Dalman found a brook rising from a spring, which empties into the Jordan. This brook carries the Arabic name of Wadi el-Kharrar. It is a bit off the road and, in Dalman's estimation, would be a most suitable place for John's activity, near the Jordan and the highway, but a little secluded. Here Dalman would place Bethany beyond the Jordan.<sup>41</sup>

The contention that the baptism site was in the area of the Makhadet Hajla Ford, where the traditional sites are today, is strengthened by the findings of Avi-Yonah, who in his Map of Roman Palestine places Bethabara in that area with the notation in code "...indicate monuments known from the sources, but of which no archaeological traces remain."<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>2 Samuel 19:18.

<sup>40</sup>Joshua 3:1 ff.

<sup>41</sup>Dalman, op. cit., pp. 87-9.

<sup>42</sup>M. Avi-Yonah, compiler, Roman Palestine (Revised edition; Jaffa: Survey of Palestine, 1939).

Thus, in view of the evidence presented, we can safely look for the site of Jesus' baptism in the traditional area of today.

#### CONCLUSION

Luke 24:48 gives us information on Jesus: "And, finally, he said that you were to go to all villages called Tarsus, which was from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs."

There is one of the many disputed sites of Tarsus in Palestine. A survey of a representative number of scholars shows a wide diversity of opinion.<sup>1</sup> In considering the various claims made, it is important to consider the following as guide-words: 1. Tarsus must be sixty furlongs from Jerusalem; 2. the Bible gives no indication of direction.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>That the Crusader Era, Tarsus (Marsabita) was the favored location,<sup>2</sup> Eusebius, Jerome, and other writers invariably placed Tarsus at Marsabita ('Amman) - see Appendix II for a detailed map.

The crucial point is the fact that the Gospel narrative demands a location sixty furlongs from Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> The manuscripts A, B and a few others read *Tharsus Ephraim* (180), whereas the text reading is

<sup>1</sup>See Appendix I for a comparative study.

<sup>2</sup>August Dalman, *Synopse des Evangelien*, translated by Paul W. Lemerle (New York: The Seabury Press, 1956), pp. 228 ff.

<sup>3</sup>Luke 24:48.

## CHAPTER V

### EMMAUS

Luke 24:13 gives us information on Emmaus: "And, behold, two of them went that same day to a village called Emmaus, which was from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs."

Emmaus is one of the many disputed sites of Biblical significance. A survey of a representative number of scholars shows a wide diversity of opinion.<sup>1</sup> In considering the various claims made, it is important to remember the following as guide-posts: 1. Emmaus must be sixty furlongs from Jerusalem; 2. the Bible gives no indication of direction.

#### 'Amwas

Until the Crusader Era, 'Amwas (Nicopolis) was the favored location.<sup>2</sup> Eusebius, Jerome, and other writers invariably placed Emmaus at Nicopolis ('Amwas) - see Appendix XI for a detailed map.

The crucial point is the fact that the Gospel narrative demands a location sixty furlongs from Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> The manuscripts  $\alpha$   $\theta$  and a few others read Ἐκατὸν ὀκτώκοντα (160), whereas the best reading is

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendix X for a comparative study.

<sup>2</sup>Gustaf Dalman, Sacred Sites and Ways, translated by Paul P. Levertoff (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936), pp. 226 ff.

<sup>3</sup>Luke 24:13.

ἑξήκοντα <sup>4</sup>

In speaking of the early variant reading, Plummer expresses judgment thus: ἑκατόν is

...an Alexandrian geographical correction, though not of the type of *Περρυσινῶν* or *Βηθαβάρᾳ*; evidently arising from identification of this Emmaus with the better known Emmaus which was later called Nicopolis. The identification is distinctly laid down by Eus. Hier. Seg., though they do not refer to the distance. <sup>5</sup>

Thus, all those who favor 'Amwas must necessarily do violence to the text to be able to hold their contention. Some acknowledge this violation of text, but prefer it as a "lesser of two evils."

Since 'Amwas otherwise fills the requirements, aside from distance, Dalman concludes: "So it is best to follow the tradition and disregard the Lukan estimate of distance." <sup>6</sup> In his Later Biblical Researches, Dr. Robinson after carefully weighing all objections, feels that the judgment of Eusebius and Jerome and the Alexandrian tradition is more trustworthy than the variants and supersedes in importance the

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<sup>4</sup> Eberhard Nestle, Novum Testamentum Graece Cum Apparatu Critico, revised by E. Erwin Nestle (Seventeenth edition; Stuttgart: Privilegierte Wuerttembergische Bibelanstalt, 1945), p. 226.

<sup>5</sup> Alfred Plummer, "The Gospel According to St. Luke," The International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures, of the Old and New Testaments, edited by Charles A. Briggs, et al. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), XXVIII, 551.

<sup>6</sup> Dalman, op. cit., p. 229.

objections which may be raised.<sup>7</sup> Thomson would also, if at all possible choose the 'Amwas location, despite the need to "discount" the Lukan tradition.<sup>8</sup> G. Ernest Wright would also prefer the 'Amwas location.<sup>9</sup>

The distance also would demand a negative decision. 'Amwas is around twenty miles from Jerusalem. The road then pretty well followed the present Jerusalem-Jaffa Highway, which winds from near Iatrun through the hills up to Jerusalem. From personal observation, it would seem the height of idealism to assume it possible to walk twenty miles each way within the time required by the text.

A further consideration is the fact that 'Amwas was not a village (*Kūmān*), but a city, and for that reason would again fail to qualify.<sup>10</sup>

Thus, even though a number of competent modern scholars think otherwise (Albright, Dalman, Abel, Vincent), it is impossible to hold that 'Amwas is the New Testament site of the event of Luke 24.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Edward Robinson, Later Biblical Researches in Palestine, and in the Adjacent Regions (Second edition; Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1857), pp. 116-50.

<sup>8</sup> William M. Thomson, The Land and the Book (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, c.1908), II, 123-5.

<sup>9</sup> George Ernest Wright and Floyd Vivian Filson, The Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1945), p. 86.

<sup>10</sup> Joseph Henry Thayer, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament (Corrected edition; Chicago: American Book Company, c.1889), p. 367.

<sup>11</sup> William F. Albright, "Researches of the School in Western Judea," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, No. 15 (October, 1924), 10.

## Abu Ghosh

The recent issue of the Palestine of the Crusades Map together with the accompanying Gazetteer show the change in attitude which set in during the Crusades. The Crusaders evidently soon saw that the 'Amwas location was Scripturally as well as physically impossible to hold. The map gives the symbol of the cross to 'Amwas, indicating the existence of a church or a monastery. Nearby at Latrun, a large castle was built and was named "Le Toron des Chevaliers."<sup>12</sup> Then, as today in the rather recent Arab-Israeli conflict, Latrun's strategic location made it a place of great importance. A tradition arose that Latrun was the home of the "Penitent Thief."<sup>13</sup>

Abu Ghosh (Qaryat el 'Inab) was known as "Spring of Emmaus, Fontenoid." This site enjoyed identification with the village of Luke 24 for some time, and was later superseded by El Qubeiba. The distance of Abu Ghosh from Jerusalem is sixty stades.

The spring spoken of above was covered by a fortress-church of the Hospitallers, which is still in existence. It was our pleasure to inspect this interesting church in 1947. The restoration had been performed by the French in the nineteenth century. Today it belongs to the Benedictines, who were making new discoveries at the time when we were there. Most visitors, not too deeply immersed in archaeological

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<sup>12</sup>F. J. Salmon, compiler, Palestine of the Crusades (Revised edition; Jaffa: Survey of Palestine, October, 1944).

<sup>13</sup>Robinson, op. cit., p. 151.

lore, will remember Abu Ghosh for the excellent "fruit of the vine" which the hospitable Benedictines serve after showing the church, the meanwhile discoursing eloquently on their claims to Emmaus.<sup>14</sup>

Because of its location and spring, Thomson would suggest Abu Ghosh as an alternative to 'Amwas, if the latter were untenable.<sup>15</sup>

#### Qaluniya

A rather favorite identification for Emmaus is Qaluniya. This stems from the fact that Josephus reports a settlement of Roman veterans by Vespasian at Ammaus, "...distant thirty furlongs from Jerusalem."<sup>16</sup> Those who favor this site, find in the present name an association with the "colony" just mentioned, and thereby a town known by that name in Jesus' day.<sup>17</sup>

In his Later Biblical Researches, Dr. Robinson suggests that the derivation is actually from the ancient Koulon or Culon of the Septuagint and Jerome. He assumes that, had Jerome been aware of the "colo-

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<sup>14</sup>C. N. Johns, Palestine of the Crusades, Historical Introduction and Gazetteer to Accompany a Map of the Country on Scale 1:350,000 (Third edition; Jerusalem: Survey of Palestine, Dept. of Antiquities, 1946), p. 40.

<sup>15</sup>Thomson, op. cit.

<sup>16</sup>H. St. J. Thackeray, translator, "Josephus - The Jewish Wars," The Loeb Classical Library, edited by E. Capps, et al. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1928), III, 567. (VII, vi, 6).

<sup>17</sup>W. Sanday, Sacred Sites of the Gospels (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), pp. 29-31.

nia" derivation, he would have given the name in full rather than as "Culon."<sup>18</sup>

Having seen the lovely location of Qaloniya lying on a slope among its olive trees, a little to the north of the Jerusalem-Jaffa Highway and at the edge of the beautiful Wadi or rather almost Plain of Tulma, which stretches toward the south and west, past 'Ain Karim, covered with the silvery-green of olive-trees, remembering all this beauty as we saw it, one can understand why the attempt would be made to locate Emmaus with its cherished memories in such a charming area.

Actually Qalunya is only around thirty stades from Jerusalem, as a glance at the map of Appendix XI will show. We remember that Abu Ghosh is sixty stades; Al Qubeiba is sixty-three stades distant from Jerusalem.<sup>19</sup> This would preclude the possibility that Qalunya is the Emmaus of Luke 24.

#### Khirbit Beit Mizza

To the north-northwest of Qaluna is Khirbit Beit Mizza. Sepp<sup>20</sup> and Edersheim would place Emmaus here. Edersheim feels that, even though it is not altogether the threescore furlongs, it is sufficiently near the Qalunya "...to account for the name, since the 'colony' would

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<sup>18</sup>Robinson, op. cit., pp. 156, 158.

<sup>19</sup>Plummer, op. cit.

<sup>20</sup>Johann N. Sepp, Jerusalem und das Heilige Land (Schaffhausen: Fr. Hurter'sche Buchhandlung, 1873), pp. 56 ff.

extend up the valley, and sufficiently near to Al Qubeiba to account for the tradition."<sup>21</sup> (The distance to Al Qubeiba is sixty-three stades.)

#### Al Qubeiba

The favored site since the days of the Crusades is Al Qubeiba, which lies several miles north of Abu Ghosh and the Jerusalem-Jaffa Highway. It succeeded to this honor later in the thirteenth century and was known as La Petite Mahomerie, and is marked as a pilgrimage site on the Crusader map.<sup>22</sup> The Gazetteer remarks

In the 13th century, when pilgrims were obliged to take this route to Jerusalem, accepted as site of Emmaus instead of Abu Ghosh on Jaffa road.

The present Franciscan church is built on the ruins of the twelfth century church.<sup>23</sup>

McGarvey reports that the German architect, Dr. Schick, found it to be 62½ furlongs from Jerusalem.<sup>24</sup> A Roman road passed through the present-day Beit Ikse, past Biddu, through Al Qubeiba, and continued

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<sup>21</sup> Alfred Edersheim, The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1936), II, 638-9.

<sup>22</sup> Salmon, op. cit.

<sup>23</sup> Johns, op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>24</sup> J. W. McGarvey, Lands of the Bible (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Co., c.1880), p. 274.

on to Lydda.<sup>25</sup>

Ludolf de Suchem in his account seemingly indicates that Emmaus was in the region of Neby Samwil.<sup>26</sup>

The walk from Jerusalem to the west-northwest, past Neby Samwil, accepted by some as being Mizpah, up through the beautifully terraced slopes to the lovely Wadi Beit Channin <sup>27</sup> would admirably fit the mood of the story of Luke 24.

#### Khirbit Khamasa

Conder and Kitchener in the Survey of Western Palestine offer the suggestion that the above site fully satisfies the requirements.<sup>28</sup> Khamasa is about eight miles from Jerusalem, to the southwest near the present village of Wadi Fukin, and about two miles south of the road which leads from the Jerusalem-Beersheba Highway, a little south of Bethlehem near Solomon's Pools, through the Vale of Elah to Beit Jibrin.<sup>29</sup>

Khamasa is about sixty stades or eight miles away from Jerusalem,

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<sup>25</sup>M. Avi-Yonah, compiler, Roman Palestine (Revised edition: Jaffa: Survey of Palestine, 1939).

<sup>26</sup>Robinson, op. cit., p. 255.

<sup>27</sup>Plummer, op. cit.

<sup>28</sup>Claude Reignier Conder and H. H. Kitchener, The Survey of Western Palestine (London: The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1881), I, 36.

<sup>29</sup>Survey of Palestine, Palestine 1:250,000, Sheet 2 (Revised edition; Jaffa: Survey of Palestine, July, 1944).

sufficiently near in Conder's mind to qualify. Conder would derive it from Khamnath, "a hot bath," from which Emmaus is derived. This village, now ruined, lies in a valley with springs and vegetation, a setting Conder describes as fitting the "atmosphere" of Luke 24.<sup>30</sup> A Roman road to Beit Jibrin (Eleutheropolis) passes within a short distance of this site.<sup>31</sup>

Plummer points out that Khamasa is seventy-two stades, rather than sixty stades, from Jerusalem, and hence, too far to be considered.<sup>32</sup> A comparative study of the map, found in Appendix XI, bears out this fact. A further consideration is that all traditions point toward the west-northwest of Jerusalem. Although this is not as decisive as the distance, it is nonetheless a factor which must be considered.

#### 'Artas

'Artas lies a little south of Bethlehem, near Solomon's Pools, a little to the east of the Jerusalem-Beersheba Highway. Caiger would find 'Artas a more plausible suggestion.<sup>33</sup> Measuring the map would

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<sup>30</sup>Claude Reignier Conder, Tent Work in Palestine (London: Alexander P. Watt, 1889), p. 140.

<sup>31</sup>M. Avi-Yonah, op. cit.

<sup>32</sup>Plummer, op. cit.

<sup>33</sup>Stephen L. Caiger, Archaeology and the New Testament (Toronto: Cassell and Co., Ltd., 1939), p. 90.

indicate that it fits the required distance. The prime consideration for 'Artas seemingly is the fact that there is a good spring here.<sup>34</sup> The village of Artasium was located here in the Crusader period.<sup>35</sup> However, to apply the derivation, would demand "hot springs" like those of el Hamra, near ancient Gadara, where the Romans basked in their day.<sup>36</sup>

Also a factor in discounting this site is the direction, being south rather than west of Jerusalem.

After evaluating all the evidence gathered and presented, it is hardly possible to state with certainty that one of the suggested sites is that of Emmaus of St. Luke. Surely, the sweeping statement with its all-inclusive implication of Albright need not sway us from rejecting on the basis of Scriptural and physical requirements the validity of the 'Amwas suggestion.<sup>37</sup>

Of all the suggested sites, only those of Abu Ghosh and Al Qubeiba fill the requirements. It would not be incorrect to state, that Al Qubeiba seems to be the most favored by the past and by the present physical "atmosphere."

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<sup>34</sup>Robinson, op. cit., I, 474 ff.

<sup>35</sup>Salmon, op. cit. The accompanying Gazetteer is not available.

<sup>36</sup>M. Avi-Yonah, op. cit.

<sup>37</sup>Albright, op. cit.

## CHAPTER VI

### CALVARY AND THE TOMB

The location of these two sacred sites is one of the vexing problems of Biblical Archaeology. It is probable that more printer's ink has been spilled on this subject than on any other archaeological problem of Palestine. Recent discoveries have shed additional light and serve to clarify at least to some extent the perspective of the problem.

As is the case with other Biblical sites, attention must be paid to the traditions. The influence of the various walls of Jerusalem as well as geographical requirements based on information in the Scriptures are additional considerations.

#### Traditions

It is strange to note that there are no early traditions which concern themselves with the location of Calvary and the adjacent tomb of Jesus. Tradition does speak of the supposed preservation of the skull of Adam at Golgotha, but otherwise no mention is made of this sacred site.<sup>1</sup>

A detailed study of traditional sites, fixed by the Latin and Oriental Churches, show no reference to the above sites before the

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<sup>1</sup>C. W. Wilson, Golgotha and the Holy Sepulcher, edited by C. M. Watson (London: The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1906), p. 2.

fourth century.<sup>2</sup> No reference is made that pilgrims visited or that anyone was concerned about the location of these two closely connected sites.<sup>3</sup>

There was interest, however, in other sites connected with the life of Christ. Justin Martyr reports that the Savior was born in a grotto near Bethlehem.<sup>4</sup> Origen speaks of it as a matter of notoriety, so that even the heathen regarded it as the birthplace of Jesus.<sup>5</sup> In 315 Eusebius reports that pilgrims flock to the Mount of Olives.<sup>6</sup>

It would follow that, if there had been a similar early tradition for the two sites in question, Eusebius, for instance, would have spoken of the devotions of pilgrims at these equally sacred sites. However, no mention of such tradition or even of the knowledge of these sites is made until after the Council of Nicea in 325. This

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<sup>2</sup>Claude Reignier Conder, The City of Jerusalem (London: John Murray, 1909), p. 23.

<sup>3</sup>Gustaf Dalman, Sacred Sites and Ways, translated by Paul P. Levertoff (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1936), p. 380.

<sup>4</sup>Edward Robinson, Biblical Researches in Palestine, and in the Adjacent Regions (Second edition; Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1850), I, 416.

<sup>5</sup>Frederick Crombie, translator, "Origen Against Celsus," The Anti-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers Down to A. D. 325, edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson and revised by A. Cleveland Coxe (Authorized edition; New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1890), I, 418.

<sup>6</sup>Edward Robinson, Later Biblical Researches in Palestine, and in the Adjacent Regions (Second edition; Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1857), p. 256.

perplexing fact is one of the decisive factors in the conclusions reached later on.<sup>7</sup>

At this time Eusebius reports that Constantine

...judged it incumbent on him to render the blessed locality of our Saviour's resurrection an object of attraction and veneration to all. He issued immediate injunctions, therefore, for the erection in that spot a house of prayer; and this he did, not on the mere natural impulse of his own mind, but being moved in spirit by the Saviour himself.<sup>8</sup>

Ignoring the lack of tradition or knowledge of the site of Jesus' death, Eusebius assumes that this site was known by Christians and unbelievers alike. He speaks of the impious, evil men who determined to obliterate from the eyes of men the sacred site of Jesus' burial, and continues:

Accordingly they brought a quantity of earth from a distance with much labor, and covered the entire spot; then, having raised this to a moderate height, they paved it with stone, concealing the holy cave beneath this massive mound. Then, as though their purpose had been effectually accomplished, they prepare on this foundation a truly dreadful sepulchre of souls, by building a gloomy shrine of lifeless idols to the impure spirit whom they call Venus, and offering detestable oblations therein on profane and accursed altars.<sup>9</sup>

This idolatrous shrine was now broken down (xxvi) and, upon the Emperor's orders, all polluted materials were far removed from the spot. But when this order was being carried out,

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ernest Cushing Richardson, translator, "Eusebius' The Life of Constantine," A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of The Christian Church, edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Second Series; New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1890), I, 527.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

...the original surface of the ground...appeared, immediately, and contrary to all expectation, the venerable and hallowed monument of our Saviour's resurrection was discovered.<sup>10</sup>

A dispassionate study of this account would bear out that, according to Eusebius, the site of the sepulcher was discovered, not by previous knowledge through tradition, but rather through an act of direct intervention of God, who furnished supernatural guidance.

Sozomenus (323-425 A.D.) expresses the same thought in his account of this event. He recounts the desire of Constantine to erect a church "...at Jerusalem near the place called Calvary."<sup>11</sup> He speaks of the desire of the heathen to obliterate this sacred spot by erecting the Temple of Aphrodite (Venus) on it. Two alternatives are given as the reason for the discovery of the "fraud": 1. through a Jew, who, through inheritance had gained possession of some documents; 2. through divine revelation through signs or dreams. Sozomen favors the latter.<sup>12</sup>

Sozomen recounts that Queen Helena journeyed to Jerusalem and was especially desirous of finding "...the wood which had formed the adorable cross." During the excavation of the site, i.e., the removal

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Chester D. Hartranft, translator, "Sozomenus: Church History from A.D. 323 - 425," A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Second Series; New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1890), II, 258.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

of polluted earth,

...the cave whence our Lord arose from the dead was discovered; and at no great distance, three crosses were found and another separate piece of wood, on which were inscribed in white letters in Hebrew, in Greek, and in Latin, the following words: "Jesus of Nazareth, the king of the Jews." <sup>13</sup>

Since the disinterested soldiers were so negligent as not to indicate the cross of Christ, and since the inscription of Pilate had become detached from the right cross, the problem of identifying the cross of Christ remained. Macarius, the bishop of Jerusalem solved this dilemma by resorting to a plan necessitating divine intervention. The three crosses were taken to the bedside of a noble lady of Jerusalem. Two crosses were "...laid on her..." but to no avail!

When, however, the third cross was in like manner brought to her, she suddenly opened her eyes, regained her strength, and immediately sprang from her bed, well. It is said that a dead person was, in the same way, restored to life. <sup>14</sup>

Queen Helena sent a portion of the wood and the nails to Constantine, who had a head-piece and a bit made for his horse, so that the words of Zechariah 24:30 (LXX) could be fulfilled.

To substantiate the case, Sozomen claims that even a Pagan Sibyl predicted, "Oh, most blessed tree, on which our Lord was hung." He cites this as undeniable, irreproachable proof of the verity of his account. <sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pp. 258-9.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 259.

Cyril, who began preaching in 347, is the first to mention the finding of the cross; Eusebius in no wise refers to it. Cyril mentions that pieces of the cross had been distributed throughout the world, showing that this new tradition had found general acceptance within so short a period of time.<sup>16</sup>

The miraculous element found both in the accounts of Eusebius as well as of Sozomen, not to mention that of Cyril, places them in a negative light for the modern historian, who naturally must look for facts rather than for supernatural events in substantiating history.<sup>17</sup>

There is actually a lapse of around three hundred years which is not bridged by an allusion or tradition.<sup>18</sup> Seemingly some local tradition pointed to the Temple of Venus as a probable site, and Constantine accepted it.<sup>19</sup>

Among those who uphold the authenticity of the account of Eusebius for the traditional Holy Sepulcher site are Wilson and Dalman. Both maintain, that, although unrecorded and unknown today, a tradition could and did exist and served as the basis for the information given to Constantine in his plans to build a memorial church on this sacred site.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Edwin Sherman Wallace, Jerusalem the Holy (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1898), p. 204.

<sup>17</sup> Chester Charlton McCown, The Ladder of Progress in Palestine (New York: Harper and Brothers, c.1943), p. 245.

<sup>18</sup> Conder, op. cit., p. 23.

<sup>19</sup> McCown, op. cit.

<sup>20</sup> Dalman, op. cit., pp. 379-80 and Wilson, op. cit., passim.

It may be safely assumed that during the period from the resurrection until the time of the siege of Titus, the sites in question were known, especially to the Christians.<sup>21</sup>

Eusebius tells us:

But the people of the Church in Jerusalem had been commanded by a revelation, vouchsafed to approved men there before the war, to leave the city and to dwell in a certain town of Perea, called Pella.<sup>22</sup>

This is in keeping with the admonition of Jesus, as found in Matthew 24:16 ff., when He told His disciples of the destruction of Jerusalem and warned them to flee.<sup>23</sup>

When the forces of Titus took Jerusalem,

...Caesar ordered the whole city and the temple to be razed to the ground, leaving only the loftiest of the towers, Phasael, Hippicus, and Marianne, and the portion of the wall enclosing the city on the west: the latter as an encampment for the garrison that was to remain, and the towers to indicate to posterity the nature of the city and of the strong defences which had yet yielded to Roman prowess. All the rest of the wall encompassing the city was so completely levelled to the ground as to leave future visitors to the spot no ground for believing that it had ever been inhabited. Such was the end to which the frenzy of revolutionaries brought Jerusalem....<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Wallace, op. cit., p. 174.

<sup>22</sup>Arthur Cushman McGiffert, translator, "The Church History of Eusebius," A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, op. cit., p. 113.

<sup>23</sup>Alexander Balmain Bruce, "The Synoptic Gospels," The Expositor's Greek Testament, edited by W. Robertson Nicoll (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., n.d.), I, 292.

<sup>24</sup>H. St. J. Thackeray, translator, "Josephus - The Jewish Wars," The Loeb Classical Library, edited by E. Capps, et al. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1928), III, 505.

To defend and hold Jerusalem, Titus left the Tenth Legion to serve as an occupation force. They occupied a fortified camp as outlined above. Although no definite information is given anywhere, the area occupied by Herod's fortress-palace is generally thought to have been enclosed in this stronghold.<sup>25</sup> Everything else in the city - the temple, the bridge over the Tyropoean Valley, the walls - everything was destroyed.

Wilson strives desperately to preserve the sanctity of the traditional site. He adduces a quotation from Eusebius to attempt to show that at least some houses were not destroyed: Eusebius says that "...half the city perished according to the prophecy..." (Demonstratio Evangelica, vi, 18),<sup>26</sup> and hence there would be room for some inhabitants to live.<sup>27</sup>

It is probable that Eusebius grossly exaggerates when he comments on Zechariah 7:14 and states that only "half of the city perished." It is more probable that "...for fifty years after its destruction, until the time of Adrian, there still existed remnants of the city."<sup>28</sup>

It is possible that there were dwellings without the camp, where "safe" Jews and possible returned Christians could live amidst the rub-

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Wilson, op. cit., "Appendix IV," p. 171.

<sup>27</sup> Wilson, op. cit., pp. 51-2.

<sup>28</sup> Robinson, Biblical Researches in Palestine, and in Adjacent Regions, op. cit., I, 366.

ble to serve the needs of the Roman camp. Wilson suggests that the latter, either resident or visitors, would carry on the knowledge of the location.<sup>29</sup>

For fifty years history makes no mention of Jerusalem. Then came the bloody revolution of Bar Chochba, apparently in 132 A.D. For three years the Jews held Jerusalem, before they were conquered and destroyed by the forces of Hadrian. Caesar now decreed that no Jew could even approach the region of Jerusalem, and guards were stationed to prevent them from making an attempt.<sup>30</sup> Christians seemingly were permitted to live in the new Roman Colony on the site of the former Jerusalem, since they had been sympathetic to the Roman cause or had at least remained neutral.<sup>31</sup>

It is through this possible but difficult line that Wilson would draw for a continuing tradition. It is significant that this argumentum e silentio has no written basis in tradition, even though other sites of possibly less importance are mentioned in early tradition.

### Third Wall

The walls of Jerusalem are a factor in considering this problem. John 19:17, 20, 41 indicate that the place of crucifixion and burial was outside of the city but near it. Hebrews 13:11-13 tell us that it

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<sup>29</sup>Wilson, op. cit., pp. 54-5.

<sup>30</sup>Robinson, op. cit., p. 369.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 371.

was "without the gate." In searching for a suitable location, the location of the Second, the Third, and to a degree also the Wall of Hadrian enter in.

During the reign of King Agrippa I (41-44 A.D.), the Third Wall was built by this monarch to enclose the suburbs of Jerusalem beyond the confines of the Second Wall. Josephus gives us the course of this wall:

The third began at the tower Hippicus, whence it stretched northwards to the tower Psephinus, and then descending opposite the monuments of Helena (Queen of Adiabene and daughter of king Izates), and proceeding past the royal caverns it bent round a corner tower over against the so-called Fuller's tomb and joined the ancient rampart, terminating at the valley called Kedron.<sup>32</sup>

The relations between Marcus, the President of Syria, and Agrippa were not too cordial. The former informed Claudius Caesar, who ordered Agrippa to stop building. Caesar was afraid that the fortress might be too impregnable.<sup>33</sup> Later on, the unfinished portion was completed by the Jews.<sup>34</sup>

The area enclosed lay north of the Temple and Antonia on the fourth hill, Bezetha, but separated from Mount Moriah by a deep valley, which was dug partially to strengthen the position of Antonia.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Thackeray, op. cit., pp. 243-4. (V, iv, 2).

<sup>33</sup>Flavius Josephus, "The Wars of the Jews," The Works of Flavius Josephus, translated by William Whiston (Philadelphia: David McKay, Publishers, n.d.), XIX, vii.

<sup>34</sup>Thackeray, op. cit.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

This wall has been variously identified. Père Vincent vigorously denies that the line of the Third Wall, now discovered, can be anything but the wall constructed during the rebellion of Bar Chochba.<sup>36</sup> Benzinger suggests the current north and west wall as being the Third Wall.<sup>37</sup> Wilson argues for the same identification.<sup>38</sup> George Adam Smith likewise identifies it with the present north and west wall.<sup>39</sup>

In the past, the majority of scholars agreed on this identification. It was only a small minority of scholars, like Drs. Merrill, Paton, and others who were in agreement with Dr. Robinson on his suggestions.<sup>40</sup> Today, when the suggestions of Dr. Robinson have been confirmed, only Père Vincent denies the possibility of identifying the Third Wall with these finds.

In 1838, Dr. Robinson, noting the description of Josephus, located the probable position of the tower of Psephinos upon the high swell of

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<sup>36</sup> William F. Albright, "New Light on the Walls of Jerusalem in the New Testament Age," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, No. 81 (February, 1941), 6-10.

<sup>37</sup> L. Frohnmeyer and I. Benzinger, Bilderatlas zur Bibelkunde (Stuttgart: Theodore Benzinger, 1905), pp. 3, 22.

<sup>38</sup> Wilson, op. cit., pp. 138-42.

<sup>39</sup> George Adam Smith, Jerusalem, the Topography, Economics, and History from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908), I, 241 ff.

<sup>40</sup> William F. Albright, "The Third Wall of Jerusalem," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, No. 19 (October, 1925), 19-21.

ground which extends from the northwest corner of the Old City toward the north-northwest. At a distance of seven hundred feet from that corner, he found traces of ancient substructions on the highest part of the ridge. These extended along the high ground for 650 feet further in the same direction. They were visible in 1847 and were seen by Dr. Schick, but unfortunately they have since disappeared -- not unusual in the Middle East, where ancient remains once made easy quarries for modern builders.<sup>41</sup>

At the same time, Robinson also found traces of the wall halfway between the Tombs of the Kings and the northwest corner of the city. The stones conformed to those of the previous paragraph.<sup>42</sup> These would very likely be in the area where the Nablus Road and Richard Coeur-de-Lion Street cross.

In describing the course of the Third Wall, Josephus refers to the Monuments of Queen Helena and the Tombs of the Kings. Elsewhere he tells us that she constructed three pyramids or stelae three stades distant from the city.<sup>43</sup> Later, when Titus approached the city from the north to reconnoiter, Josephus notes that these monuments were over against the gate on that side.<sup>44</sup> Eusebius makes mention of the

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<sup>41</sup> Conder, op. cit., p. 166.

<sup>42</sup> Robinson, op. cit., pp. 314-5.

<sup>43</sup> Josephus, op. cit., XX, ix, 3.

<sup>44</sup> Thackeray, op. cit., p. 217. (V, ii, 2).

same<sup>45</sup> as do other writers.<sup>46</sup>

Today excavations have shown that the contentions of Dr. Robinson were correct as far as can be determined presently. The northwestern corner of the wall, the octagonal tower of Psephinus, was located at the northeastern corner of the Russian property, south of the Italian Hospital. From here the wall ran south-southeast to the Tower of Hippicus, in the Citadel Area of today.<sup>47</sup>

Dr. E. Sukenik had by 1927 "...succeeded in tracing the wall for a distance of 300 meters, from the Russian Compound to a point just east of the Nablus Road opposite the Ecole Biblique on the North side." During street repair operations in front of the American School of Oriental Research on Saladin Road, additional foundations of the wall were discovered. Dr. Sukenik, upon investigation, identified this spot as the place where the angle of the wall turned towards the city, and therefore was the site of the Women's Towers mentioned by Josephus.<sup>48</sup>

In the fall of 1941, another municipal road improvement project led to the discovery and the excavation of a large tower on the east boundary and in the eastern part of the property of the American

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<sup>45</sup> McGiffert, op. cit.

<sup>46</sup> Robinson, op. cit., pp. 356-64.

<sup>47</sup> Albright, op. cit., p. 20.

<sup>48</sup> "An Interesting Discovery at the Jerusalem School," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, No. 23 (February, 1927), pp. 2-3 and Thackeray, op. cit., p. 233 (V, iii, 3).

School. Careful archaeological examination showed that this was part of the Third Wall. The tower was originally joined to the portion of the wall found along the western side of the School's property on Saladin Road.

Over five hundred feet further to the east, another tower, the largest one discovered thusfar, was found near the Kidron Valley slope. Dr. Sukenik supposes that here the walls turned southward to join the Temple area walls. A portion of his east wall has been found in the foundations of the Church of St. Anne, near the St. Stephen's Gate.<sup>49</sup> Mr. Solomiac identifies the latter remains as part of the first tower of the Third Wall, the tower being just north of the gate which occupied the site of the present St. Stephen's Gate. M. Solomiac estimates that the Third Wall was three thousand meters or over eleven thousand feet long -- see Appendix XII for the course of the wall.<sup>50</sup>

The discovery of the Third Wall is extremely helpful in working toward a solution of the location of the Second Wall, on the position of which the fate of the traditional Church of the Holy Sepulcher depends from a topographical point of view. We remember, that, from a literary point of view, the evidence for the traditional site is extremely doubtful.

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<sup>49</sup> C. S. Fisher, "The Third Wall of Jerusalem," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, No. 83 (October, 1941), 4-7.

<sup>50</sup> M. Solomiac, "The Towers and Cisterns of the Third Wall at Jerusalem," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, No. 84 (December, 1941), 5-7.

## Second Wall

The acceptance of the Third Wall by most modern scholars with all its implications, as having been north of the present walls, has stimulated renewed interest in searching and determining the location of the Second Wall. It was outside of this wall, near the city, that Jesus was crucified.<sup>51</sup> And the location of this wall determines the validity of the present traditional site.

Josephus tells us

The second wall started from the gate in the first wall which they called Genath, and, enclosing only the northern district of the town, went up as far as Antonia.<sup>52</sup>

Various suggestions have been offered through the years. Archaeological finds have either modified or changed the thinking in this matter. Some, however, seem unwilling to accept recent finds in order to preserve the traditional site at all costs.<sup>53</sup>

In Golgotha and the Holy Sepulcher, Wilson discusses several theories.<sup>54</sup> Prominent in these theories as well as in others proposed is the uncertain location of the Gennath Gate. Some would find this some distance east of the present Citadel, a little south of the David Street, but in line with Christian Street. Others would find it

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<sup>51</sup>Hebrews 13:13

<sup>52</sup>Thackeray, op. cit., p. 243. (V, iv, 2).

<sup>53</sup>McCown, op. cit., p. 249.

<sup>54</sup>Wilson, op. cit., passim.

somewhere in the Citadel area without specifying a definite location. Some would place it still farther east, a little south of David Street, and in line with the west street of the "Suk" (Market) and Damascus Street.<sup>55</sup> Appendix XIII shows the various suggested courses.

George Adam Smith concludes that it depends entirely on what the respective author thinks the course of the Second Wall was.<sup>56</sup>

Wilson's conclusions are that at his time no certain traces of the Second Wall had been found. He does venture the opinion that massive masonry on the Haret el Mawzin Street, north of Hezekiah's Pool, and just west of Christian Street is part of the Second Wall, but feels unable to suggest whether it proceeded northward from the junction of this street with Christian Street or eastward toward Khan es Zeit (Damascus Street).<sup>57</sup>

An ardent proponent of the traditional site, Dalman feels that the area enclosed by the Second Wall could not have been very extensive. He feels constrained to suggest, on the basis of his careful study and observation, that the area between the Market Street and the Temple Area from west to east, and between David Street and the Via Dolorosa from south to north must have been the area enclosed by the Second

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 137.

<sup>56</sup> Smith, op. cit., pp. 243-4.

<sup>57</sup> Dalman, op. cit., p. 274.

Wall.<sup>58</sup>

Dr. Robinson makes a strong case for the fact that the Gate Gennath must necessarily be in the immediate Citadel area;<sup>59</sup> Conder agrees.<sup>60</sup> Dr. Robinson discusses the requirements of the battle as reported by Josephus in "The Jewish Wars," V, iv, at great length and finds that this account by Josephus demands that the Gennath Gate must be very near to the east of Hippicus to meet all the requirements fully and logically.<sup>61</sup>

To meet the requirements of Josephus in accordance with topographical requirements and discoveries recent at Robinson's time, Robinson proposes that the Second Wall ran from near the Hippicus Tower northwards across the higher and more level part of Akra; then it swept over to the Tyropoeon Valley somewhere in the Damascus Gate area; from there the wall followed the high ground of Bezetha to the northwest corner of Antonia. In view of this, most of the northeastern area of the Old City would not have been enclosed by the wall.<sup>62</sup>

Dr. Robinson was won over to this proposed line of the Second Wall

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Robinson, Later Biblical Researches in Palestine, and in the Adjacent Regions, op. cit., pp. 212-7.

<sup>60</sup> Conder, op. cit.

<sup>61</sup> Robinson, op. cit.

<sup>62</sup> Robinson, Biblical Researches in Palestine, and in the Adjacent Region, op. cit., I, 312-2.

by remains of a wall in the Latin convent wall. The remains of old, bevelled stones in the wall from the Damascus Gate to the west further urged him to make this suggestion.<sup>63</sup>

Specifically, Dr. Robinson places the line of the Second Wall from the Gennath Gate, near Hippicus,<sup>64</sup> northward following nearly the street which leads to the Latin convent. From the convent the wall lay along or near the course of the present city wall to the Damascus Gate. Then it ran, as the wall does today, to the high point of Bezetha, and thence southward along the top of the ridge to Antonia.<sup>65</sup>

In 1937-1938 a series of soundings were taken along the north wall of the Old City; several at the Damascus Gate and on each side of the Herod Gate.<sup>66</sup> The finds showed that there had been extensive rebuilding in the third and fourth century. More significant were evidences of building at the time of Hadrian and earlier. Over the top of an arch of moderate size, on the inside of the Damascus Gate, just a little to the east of the entrance, was found a reused stone with the inscription in Hadrianic style: "COL (onia) AEL (ia) CAP (itolina) D (eaurionum) D (ecrete), that is 'Colonia Aelia Capitolina by decree

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<sup>63</sup>Robinson, Later Biblical Researches in Palestine, and in the Adjacent Regions, op. cit., pp. 217-20.

<sup>64</sup>See Appendix XIII for map showing the Second Wall suggestions.

<sup>65</sup>Robinson, op. cit.

<sup>66</sup>William F. Albright, "New Light on the Walls of Jerusalem in the New Testament Age," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, No. 81 (February, 1941), 8.

of the decurions." 67

A little in front of a corresponding side entrance on the west "...the lowest course of a wall was found built of large stones of the characteristic Herodian type." And a little farther to the west, other Herodian stones were found, which may still be as they were placed by Herodian builders. Thus, the evidence clearly points to a Hadrianic triple gateway similar to those found at Jerash, preceded by clear evidences of a Herodian structure.<sup>68</sup>

The soundings on either side of the Herod Gate showed that the lowest courses were a mixture of Herodian and Hadrianic stones combined. This clearly points to the building of a wall and gate along this line in Hadrian's time.<sup>69</sup>

McCown concludes that the present north wall represents "...essentially the line of the north wall of Aelia Capitolina, and in part at least the 'second wall' of Josephus." 70

In 1925 Dr. Albright expressed his belief that the present north wall represented the line of the Aelia Capitolina wall, but that it had nothing to do with the Second Wall.<sup>71</sup> Despite the interesting finds

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<sup>67</sup>McCown, op. cit., pp. 250-1.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 251.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 250.

<sup>71</sup>William F. Albright, "The Third Wall of Jerusalem," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, No. 19 (October, 1925), 20.

at the Damascus Gate, he would prefer to hold to his previous view.<sup>72</sup> Such a position permits holding the view together with Vincent, Abel, Dalman, and others that the Second Wall would lie just south of the Holy Sepulcher, thereby preserving the traditional site.<sup>73</sup>

In their recent consideration, Wright and Filson find that the line as proposed by Dr. Robinson, and seemingly required by the excavations at the Damascus Gate, is unlikely. The course of the walls as proposed by Dr. Dalman encloses too small an area and violates the requirements for the Gate Gennath by putting it too far to the east. The current traditional view which includes Hezekiah's Pool but excludes the Church of the Holy Sepulcher violates military judgment. It is with hesitation that a circular course, ignoring the finds at the Damascus Gate and the remains in the Latin Convent, is chosen as the most probable course. The latter, of course, places the traditional site within the walls and hence disqualifies it as being authentic.<sup>74</sup>

Serious consideration of all factors and personal observation on location would cause the writer to follow the theory of Dr. Robinson, especially in the light of the Damascus Gate discoveries. It is, of course, evident that in view of the uncertainties which persist, a

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<sup>72</sup>Albright, "New Light on the Walls of Jerusalem in the New Testament Age," op. cit., pp. 6-10.

<sup>73</sup>Albright, "The Third Wall of Jerusalem," op. cit.

<sup>74</sup>George Ernest Wright and Floyd Vivian Filson, The Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1945), p. 99.

definite identification for the line of the Second Wall is impossible. However, all indications point to the fact that the present traditional site has become untenable.

#### Gordon's Calvary

For years, those who found the traditional site unacceptable, have looked for a representative site. In accordance with Scriptural requirements, the site must be outside of the city walls of that day and near a gate.<sup>75</sup> The account of the mockery and raillery presupposes that people came and passed by on what must have been a main artery of that area of Jerusalem.<sup>76</sup>

Scripture speaks of a garden near the site of the crucifixion.<sup>77</sup> Josephus says that gardens were to the north of the city.<sup>78</sup> The northwest area would also be the site of gardens. Rockhewn sepulchers have been found in this area; these go down to the Roman period.<sup>79</sup>

In looking for a possible site for Golgotha, the inference of Scripture, "The place of a skull"<sup>80</sup> was used as a guide. This view is

<sup>75</sup> John 19: 17, 20, 41; Hebrews 13:11-13.

<sup>76</sup> Mark 15:29; Matthew 27:39.

<sup>77</sup> John 19:41.

<sup>78</sup> Thackeray, op. cit.

<sup>79</sup> Alfred Edersheim, The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1936), II, 585.

<sup>80</sup> John 19:17.

followed by many writers who think Golgotha was a rounded knoll of bare rock, or a hillock with a skull-shaped top; associated is the idea of height, prominence, and wide visibility.<sup>81</sup>

In 1841, in rejecting the traditional site, Dr. Robinson suggested looking for Golgotha on either the Jaffa Road or the Damascus (Nablus) Road. In 1842, Otto Thenius proposed that the cliff now known as Gordon's Calvary, near Jeremiah's Grotto, be identified with Golgotha and the Tomb respectively. Others followed his suggestions, for the rock resembles the features of a skull. It is also very near the Damascus gate, from which the Damascus Road emanated.<sup>82</sup> Conder found the site acceptable.<sup>83</sup> In 1882 it was suggested by General Gordon, who was not aware of it having been previously identified as Golgotha. After this the site became known as "Gordon's Calvary."<sup>84</sup>

Appealing to both Conder and Edersheim is the Jewish tradition which associates this area with the "house of stoning," a tradition which has been held by the local Sephardic Jews from Spain for many centuries.<sup>85</sup> Edersheim, a Christian Jew who was extremely well-versed

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<sup>81</sup> Wilson, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., pp. 107-9.

<sup>83</sup> Conder, op. cit., pp. 153-4.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p. 54.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p. 153.

in Jewish writings and traditions, accepts this tradition as ancient.<sup>86</sup> Dalman would label it a later tradition, without ancient fact.<sup>87</sup> Another tradition "at least as old as the fifth century A.D." places the stoning of Stephen north of the Damascus Gate; later this was transferred to the present Stephen's Gate, just north of the Temple Area in the east wall of the Old City.<sup>88</sup>

There are those who find this suggested site most unsatisfying. Among the more recent writers, McCown scathingly declares it without the slightest documentary or archaeological proof.<sup>89</sup> Wright and Filson find that the claim of Gordon's Calvary for authenticity has "little strength."<sup>90</sup>

The preceding paragraphs emphasize the fact, that it is very difficult to identify with certainty any site with that where our Savior died. However, much one might be inclined toward the Gordon's Calvary identification, it is impossible to say more than that it is a "possible" site.

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<sup>86</sup> Edersheim, op. cit.

<sup>87</sup> Dalman, op. cit., p. 348.

<sup>88</sup> Wilson, op. cit., pp. 20-1.

<sup>89</sup> McCown, op. cit., p. 247.

<sup>90</sup> Wright and Filson, op. cit., p. 99.

## The Garden Tomb

Nearby Gordon's Calvary is the tomb known today as "The Garden Tomb." Many consider it the tomb where Jesus once was buried. On Easter Sunday morning, a simple worship is held here at sunrise. The simple beauty of the service stands in direct contrast with the pompously formal and elaborate ceremonies of the traditional site. This fact alone, aside from others, has caused many to accept and revere this site as the place where our Lord was laid.

The Bible tells us that near the place of crucifixion, in a garden, lay the new tomb of Josephs of Arimathea.<sup>91</sup>

The Garden Tomb was discovered in 1867.<sup>92</sup> Cut into the face of the rock, on a side of the ridge which is known as "Gordon's Calvary" is a "loculus" type of a tomb, the type which alone would fit the requirements as laid down by Scripture (when it speaks of the first visits to the tomb by the women, by John and Peter, and by Mary Magdalene.<sup>93</sup> There is a groove for the rolling stone which runs along the face of the wall. The entrance itself is low, and opens into an antechamber, which is about twelve feet long, six-and-one-half feet wide, and just a little over six feet in height. A low wall about three feet

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<sup>91</sup>John 19:38-41; Matthew 27:57-61; Mark 15:43-47; Luke 23:50-54.

<sup>92</sup>Stephen L. Caiger, Archaeology and the New Testament (Toronto: Cassell and Co., Ltd., 1939), p. 59.

<sup>93</sup>Matthew 28:1-8; Mark 16:1-11; Luke 24:1-8; John 20:1-18 and Wallace, op. cit., p. 213.

high runs through the middle, and separates the antechamber from the burial chamber. A step is cut into this low wall for a passageway.

The tomb chamber has room for three bodies. The tomb on the left when entering the tomb chamber is thought to have been the tomb of Jesus. A short "bed" lies at the end of the passageway between the two normal length tombs on either side. Light falls through a window on the tomb on the left hand. These features of the tomb would fit the requirements of Scripture.<sup>94</sup>

Because of Latin crosses on the east wall on the inner chamber, Conder would assign it to the twelfth century A.D., and he would look elsewhere for a possible site.<sup>95</sup> Dr. Schick argues that it is characteristically a Jewish tomb and could have been constructed as early as the first century. Ecclesiastical symbols and other evidences show that it was used for burial in the fourth century.<sup>96</sup>

Among those who are negative in their view on the Garden Tomb is McCown, who pronounces the same judgment on it as in the case of Gordon's Calvary.<sup>97</sup> Wright and Filson definitely date it as being of

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<sup>94</sup>L. T. Pearson, "Where is Calvary?" [sic] (Croydon: Uplift Publishing Co. Ltd., 1946), pp. 18-22.

<sup>95</sup>Conder, op. cit., pp. 154-6.

<sup>96</sup>Caiger, op. cit., p. 60.

<sup>97</sup>McCown, op. cit., p. 247.

several centuries later origin.<sup>98</sup>

In the case of the Garden Tomb, objections are more in place than in the case of Gordon's Calvary. In either case, it is impossible to assert and substantiate the validity of their claim.

Be that as it may, the pilgrim who would in quiet meditation think on the greatness of the Savior's love will invariably find his way to the quiet garden of the Garden Tomb.

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<sup>98</sup>Wright and Filson, op. cit.

## APPENDIX I

### Bethsaida

Among the many works consulted, the following recognized the need for two Bethsaidas:

J. McKee Adams, Biblical Backgrounds (Nashville, Tennessee: The Broadman Press, c.1934), p. 350.

Claude Reignier Conder and H. H. Kitchener, The Survey of Western Palestine (London: The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1881), I, 417.

H. L. Mansel and F. C. Cook, "St. Matthew's Gospel," The Holy Bible According to the Authorized Version A.D. (1611), with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary and a Revision of the Translation (London: John Murray, 1878), I, 76b.

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A. T. Robertson, A Harmony of the Gospels for Students of the

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J. J. Von Oosterzee, "The Gospel According to Luke," A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures, translated from the Second German edition and edited by Philip Schaff and Chas. C. Starbuck (New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Company, 1873), XVIII, p. 116a.

William G. T. Shedd, "The Gospel According to Mark," revised from the Edinburgh Translation with Additions by John Peter Lange, A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures, translated and edited by Philip Schaff and Chas. C. Starbuck (New York: Scribners, Armstrong & Company, 1873), XVIII, 62a.

David Smith, The Days of His Flesh, the Earthly Life of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ (Tenth edition; New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911), pp. 83-4.

Arthur Penryhn Stanley, Sinai and Palestine (Second edition revised; New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1883), pp. 443, 455.

William T. Thomson, The Land and the Book (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, c.1908), II, 423.

H. B. Tristram, The Land of Israel (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1866), pp. 436, 441.

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Alexander Balmain Bruce, "The Synoptic Gospels," The Expositor's Greek Testament, edited by W. Robertson Nicoll (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, n.d.), I, 385a.

Gustaf Dalman, Sacred Sites and Ways, translated by Paul P. Levertoff (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1935), pp. 166 ff.

Jack Finnegan, Light from the Ancient Past (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), p. 229.

John D. Davis, The Westminster Dictionary of the Bible, revised and rewritten by Henry Snyder Gehman (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, c.1944), p. 70b.

Nelson Glueck, The River Jordan (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, c.1946), p. 54.

Herman Guthe, Bibel Atlas in 20 Haupt- und 28 Nebenkarten [sic] (Leipzig: H. Wagner & E. Debes, 1911), Plate XIV.

Chester McCown, "The Problem of the Site of Bethsaida," The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, X, 1 (1930), pp. 32 ff.

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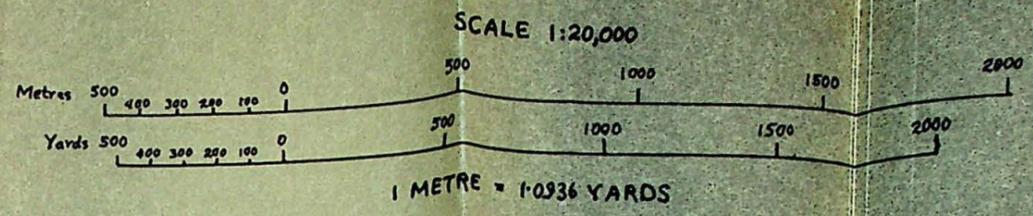
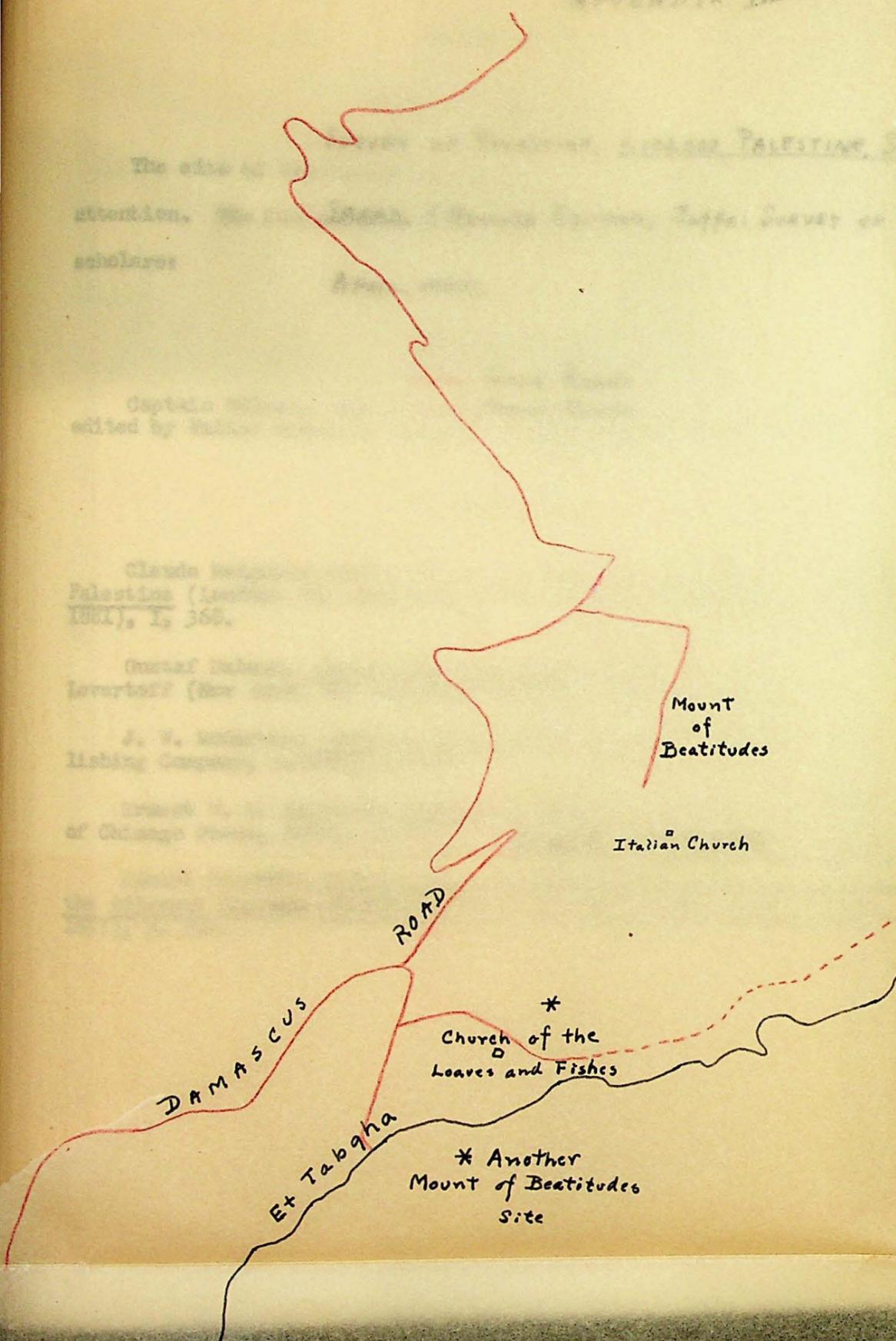
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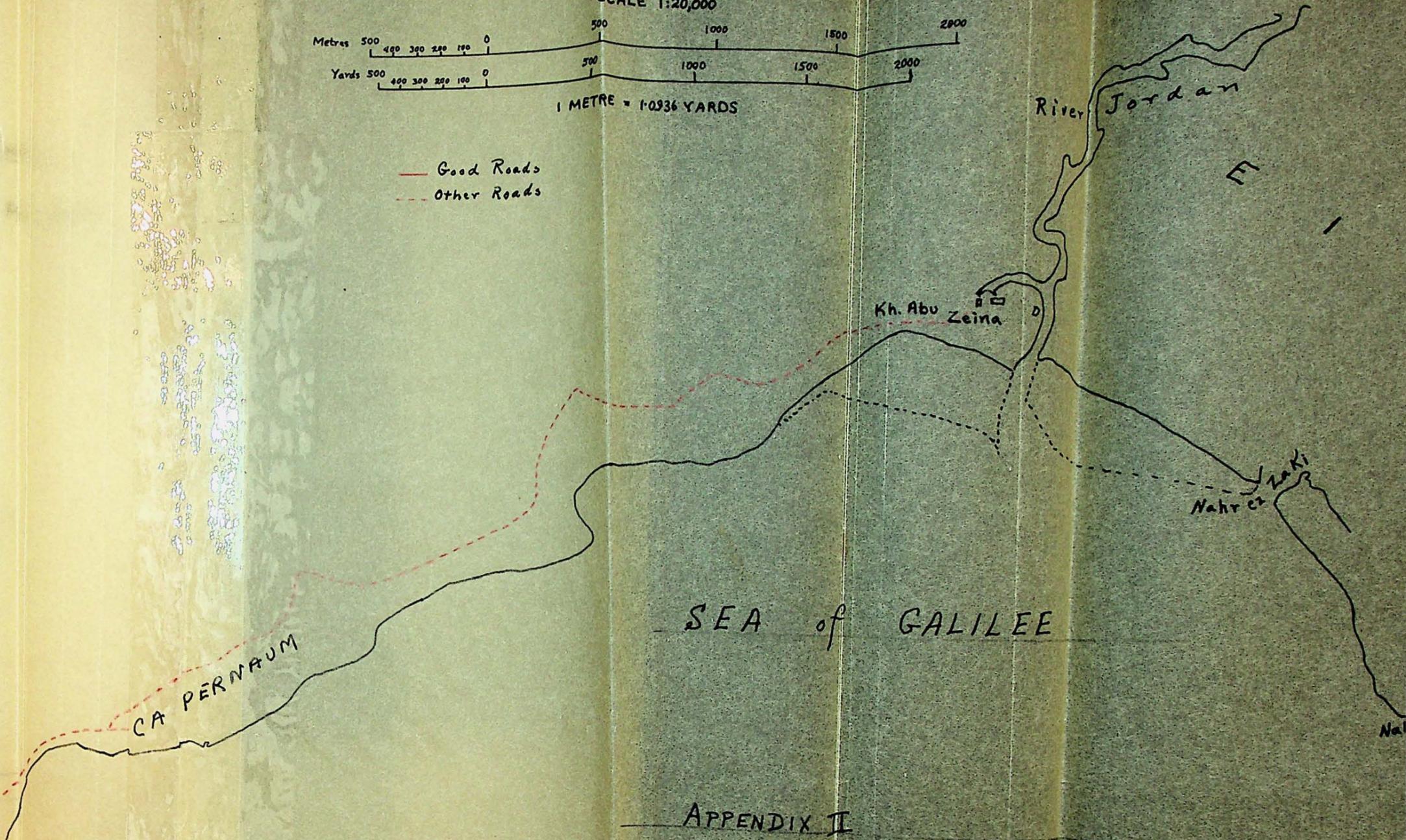
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George Ernest Wright and Floyd Vivian Filson, The Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1945), p. 86a.

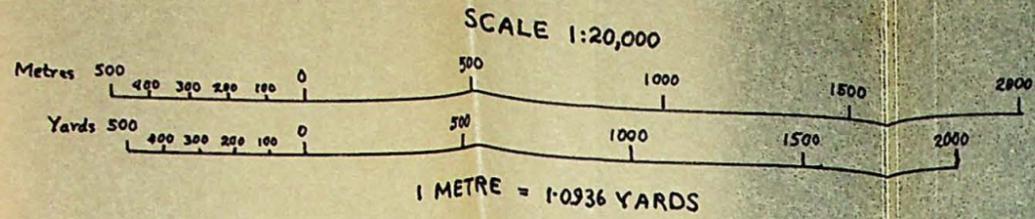
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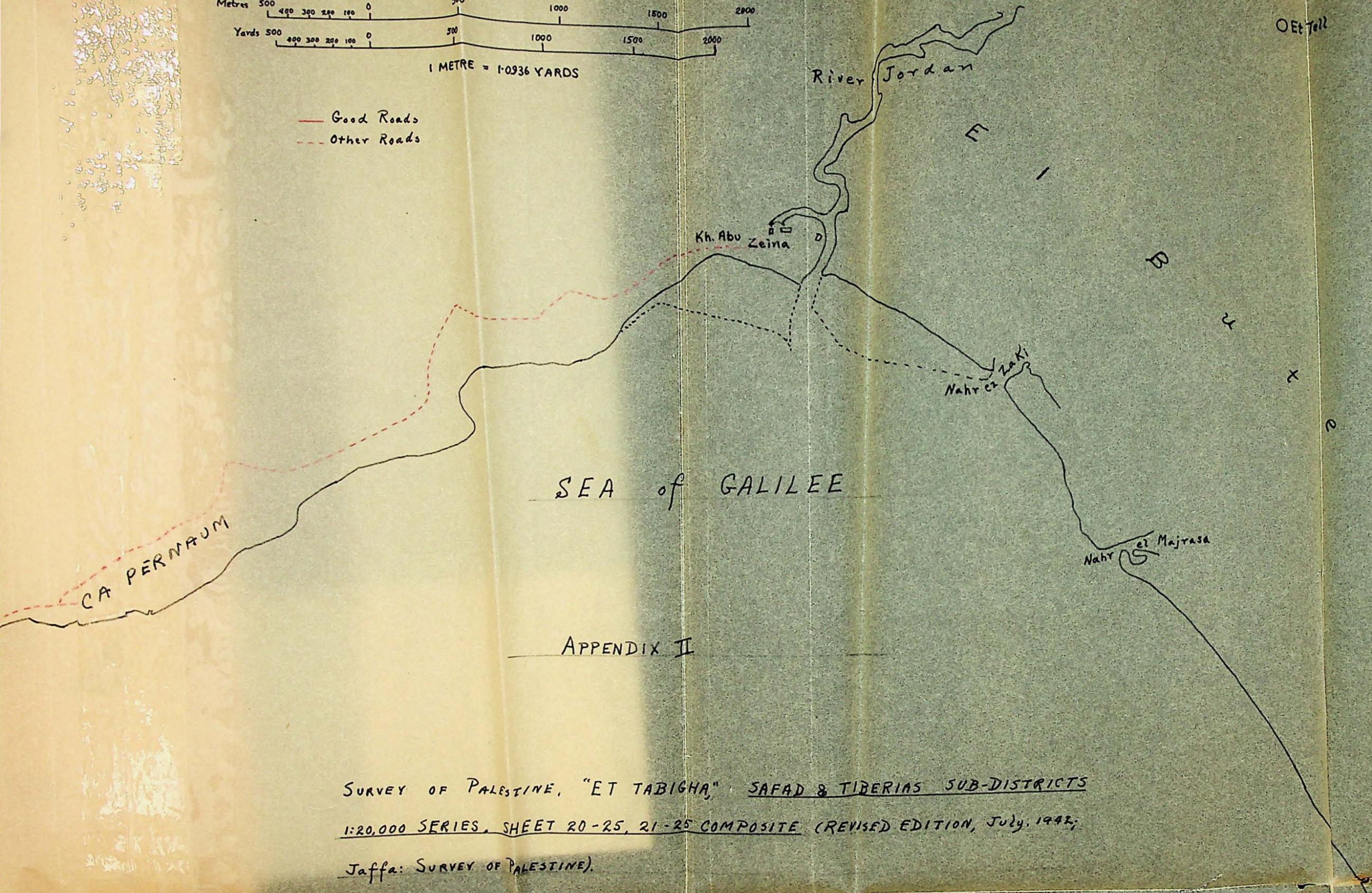
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APPENDIX II

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APPENDIX III

SURVEY OF PALESTINE, 1:100,000 PALESTINE SHEET 3

SAFAD (REVISED EDITION; Jaffa: SURVEY OF PALESTINE, APRIL, 1944).

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